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DEDICATION.

TO

CASPAR WISTAR, M. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY,

&c. &c.

DEAR SIR,

Having, at your particular request, undertaken the arduous task, of giving to the Historical Committee of our Society, an Account of those Indian Nations and Tribes which once inhabited Pennsylvania and the adjoining States, including those who are known by the name of the "Six Nations;" I have now, as far as has been in my power, complied with your wishes, or at least I have endeavoured so to do. 121

Foreseeing the difficulties I should labour under, in writing the history of a people, of whom so many had already written, I could not but consider the undertaking both as unpleasant and hazardous; being aware, that it would be impossible for me in all respects to coincide with those who have written before me; among whom there are not a few, who, although their good intentions cannot be doubted, yet from their too short residence in the country of the Indians, have not had sufficient opportunities to acquire the knowledge which they undertake to communicate. Ignorant of the language, or being but superficially acquainted with it, they have relied on ignorant or careless interpreters, by whom they have been 114

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114 most frequently led astray; in what manner, this little work will abundantly shew.

The sure way to obtain correct ideas, and a true knowledge of the characters, customs, manners, &c. of the Indians, and to learn their history, is to dwell among them for some time, and having acquired their language, the information wished for will be obtained in the common way; that is, by paying attention to their discourses with each other on different subjects, and occasionally asking them questions; always watching for the proper opportunity, when they do not suspect your motives, and are disposed to be free and open with you.

The political state and connexions of the two, once great and rival nations, the Mengwe, (or Six Nations) and the Lenape (or Delawares, as we call them), being little, or but imperfectly known to many of us, I have been at some pains in unfolding the origin and true cause of their rivalship; and the means resorted to by the one nation, to bring themselves into consequence with the white people, for the purpose of subduing the other.

How far the Six Nations have succeeded in this, we know; at least, we know so much, that they sold the country of the Lenape, Mohicans, and other tribes connected with them, by piece-meals to the English, so that they were finally obliged to wander to the West: while their enemies, during all this time, remained in full and quiet possession of their country.

If we ought, or wish to know the history of those nations from whom we have obtained the country we now live in, we must also wish to be informed of the means by which that country fell into our hands, and what has become of its original inhabitants. To meet this object,

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I have given their traditions respecting their first coming into our country, and their own history of the causes of their emigrating from it. 114

On all the subjects which I have treated respecting the different tribes, I have endeavoured to be impartial. Yet, if I should still be thought to have shewn some partiality for the Delawares and their connexions, with respect to the affairs between them and the Six Nations, I have only to reply, that we have been attentive to all the Six Nations told us of these people, until we got possession of their whole country; and now, having what we wanted, we ought not to turn them off with this story on their backs, but rather out of gratitude and compassion, give them also a hearing, and acquit them honourably, if we find them deserving of it.

What I have written, concerning their character, their customs, manners, and usages, is from personal knowledge, and from such other information as may be relied on; and in order to be the better understood, I have frequently added anecdotes, remarks, and relations of particular events. In some instances I have had reference to authors, and manuscript notes taken down upwards of 70 years since, by individuals well deserving of credit.

To you, Sir, I need not apologise for my deficiency in point of style and language, which has been known to you long since. I have endeavoured to make amends for this defect, by being the more careful and correct in my narrations, so as at least to make up in matter, what in manner may be deficient.

I am, Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN HECKEWELDER.

Nov. 1817.

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mode of speaking, not that of the Indians, who never look upon them as having been so many *nations*; but *divisions* and *tribes*, who, as united, have become a nation. Thus, when the Lenape (Delawares) happen to name them as one body, the word they make use of implies "the five divisions together, or united," as will be seen in another place of this work. I call them also *Iroquois*, after the French and some English writers. 128

The *Wyandots*, or *Wyondots*, are the same whom the French call *Hurons*, and sometimes *Guyandots*. Father Sagard, a French Missionary, who lived among them in the 17th century, and has written an account of his mission, and a kind of dictionary of their language, says their proper name is *Ahouandàte*, from whence it is evident that the English appellation Wyandots has been derived.

There being so many words in the language of the Lenape and their kindred tribes, the sound of which cannot well be represented according to the English pronunciation, I have in general adopted for them the German mode of spelling. The *ch*, particularly before a consonant, is a strong guttural, and unless an Englishman has the use of the Greek χ, he will not be able to pronounce it, as in the words *Chasquem* (Indian corn,) *Cheltol* (many,) *Ches* (a skin,) *Chauchschisis* (an old woman,) and a great many more. Sometimes, indeed, in the middle of a word substitutes may be found which may do, as in the word *Nimachtak* (brethren,) which might be written, *Nemaughtok*, but this will seldom answer. This is probably the reason that most of the English authors have written Indian words so incorrectly, far more so than French authors. 104 194 [192] [114]

The Delawares have neither of the letters R, F, nor V, in their language, though they easily learn to pronounce them. They have a consonant peculiar to them and other Indians, which is a sibilant, and which we

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A D 197 try on this side of the Mississippi and the great Lakes, are unquestionably, from their dialects, of Lenape origin. The Shawanos, it is said, formerly dwelt upon the river Savannah, in Georgia, and a part of them remaining in that country, associated with the Creeks, still retain their language.* As far as we are able to judge from the little knowledge that has been transmitted to us of the languages of the Indians who once inhabited Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, they all appear to have belonged to the same stock, the Nanticokes have been shewn to have been intimately connected with the Lenape, and among those who called them *grandfather*: Two pretty copious vocabularies of their language, in the possession of the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society, one of them communicated by Mr. Jefferson and the other by myself, prove it beyond a doubt to have been a dialect of the Lenape.† The Canai or Kanhawas, who have given their name to a river in Virginia which empties itself into the Ohio, are known to have been of the same stock. The Indian names of rivers, mountains and towns, through that vast extent of country, appear generally derived from the Lenape language.

A D 114 197 The Baron de La Hontan, is one of the first writers, I believe, who have spoken of the universality of this idiom; but it is extraordinary that he has not said a word of the Lenni Lenape, that great and powerful nation. He calls this language the *Algonquin* tongue, although he describes that people as "an erratic sort of savages, who, like the

* Barton's New Views, Ed. 1798. Prelim. Disc. p. 32.

† The late Dr. Barton, in the work above quoted, append. p. 3. a/A seems to doubt this fact, and relies on a series of numerals which I once communicated to him, and was found among the papers of the late Rev. Mr. Pyrlæus. But it is by no means certain that those numerals were taken from the language of the Nanticokes, and the vocabularies above mentioned leave no doubt as to the origin of that dialect.

a/A [Erratum. Should be p. 5--Analyst]

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"Arabs, had no settled abode,"* and admits, that at the time when he wrote, their number did not exceed 200. What he says on this subject, however, is so much to my purpose, that I hope I shall be permitted to make a small extract from it.

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"There are," says the Baron, "but two mother "tongues in the whole extent of Canada, which I confine "within the limits of the Mississippi; they are the *Huron* "and the *Algonquin*. The first is understood by the Iro- "quois, for the difference between these two languages "is no greater than that between the Norman and the "French. The second, namely the *Algonquin*, is as "much esteemed among the savages as the Greek and "Latin are in Europe; though it would seem that the "aborigines, to whom it owes its original, disgrace it by "the thinness of their nation, *for their whole number does "not amount to two hundred.*"†

What the Baron says here of this language is very correct; but why does he call it the Algonquin, and ascribe its origin to that miserable wandering tribe? He had the Abenakis at hand, whom in another place he puts at the head of the tribes inhabiting Nova Scotia, and who still preserved the generic name of the whole nation, *Wapanachké*, which the French have softened to suit the analogy of their own tongue, by which name the different nations and tribes of the Lenape stock still recognise each other to this day. It is probable that he did not sufficiently understand their language,‡ to have much conversation with them, otherwise, they would have informed him that they derived their origin from a great

* Letter v. † Letter xxv.

‡ He says that it is not copious, and is only adapted to the necessities and conveniences of life. These are the ideas which strangers and philosophers, reasoning *à priori*, entertain of Indian languages; but those who are well acquainted with them think very differently. And yet the Baron says that the Algonquin is "the finest and the "most universal language on the Continent."

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and powerful nation residing in the interior of the country, whom they revered as their *grandfather*, at whose door the great national council fire was kept constantly burning, whose badge was the *Turtle*, and whose supremacy was acknowledged by all the kindred tribes.

Father Charlevoix, who also speaks of the universality of this language, commits the same error in ascribing its origin to the Algonquins. "In the southern part "of Hudson's Bay," says he, "the trade is carried on "with the Matassins, the Monsonics, the Christinaux, "(Knisteneaux) and the Assinipoils, the three first of "which speak the *Algonquin* language."* In a later publication, (I think by a Mr. Winterbotham,) of which, during my travels, some years ago, I had merely a glance, I found by some words he had put down in the language of those people, that they were *Minsi* or *Monseys*, a branch of the wolf tribe of the Lenape. So indeed, one of their names, *Monsonies*, seems of itself to indicate. The name of the Matassins, means in their language a tobacco pipe, and so it does in the Monsey to this day. And they all speak the Algonquin, a language, say both Charlevoix and La Hontan, universally known for a thousand leagues round. The last mentioned author subjoins a vocabulary of what he calls the Algonquin tongue, which bears a greater affinity to the language of the Unamis or Turtle† tribe of the Lenape, than that does to the idiom of the Monsey or Wolf tribe of the same nation. I find many words in the Algonquin (as given by La Hontan,) which are exactly the same as in the Unami, while others bear more resemblance to the Chippeway, also a dialect of the Lenape, spoken by a tribe in connexion with the Delawares, and who call them *grandfather*.

* Letter xi. p. 276.

† It should be properly *Tortoise*; but this word seems in a fair way to be entirely superseded by *Turtle*, as well in England as in this country.

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There can be no doubt, therefore, that this universal language, so much admired and so generally spoken by the Indian nations, is that of the Lenni Lenape, and is improperly named the Chippeway by Carver, and the Algonquin by La Hontan. The celebrated Professor Vater, in his excellent continuation of Adelung's Mithridates, calls the class of languages derived from this source, "the Chippewayo-Delawarian, or Algonkino-Mohican stock."* It is, perhaps, indifferent for philological purposes, whether a language be called the Delaware or the Chippeway, the Algonquin or the Mohican; but every body must be sensible of the inconvenience of those long compound names, which leave no fixed or determinate idea upon the mind. For the purpose of general description it seems better to designate the languages of those connected tribes by the name of their common grandfather, the Lenni Lenape, or by the generic denomination universally adopted among them, Wapanachki, or Abenaki. I have preferred the former as a mark of respect to an ancient and once powerful nation, and in the hope that her name may be preserved, at least, in the records of philological science.

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This beautiful language, and those which are derived from it, though more has been written upon them than on any of the other languages of these parts of the North American continent, are as yet but little known. The grammar of the Natick dialect published by Eliott, at Cambridge in Massachusetts, in the year 1666, has long been out of print, and is to be found only in very few libraries in the United States; Dr. Edwards's little tract on the Mohican language, although printed twice, does not appear to have had much circulation, and is not alone sufficient to give an idea of the forms and construction of these Indian dialects. Zeisberger's Delaware spelling

* *Chippewaisch-Delawarischer, oder Algonkisch-Moheganischer, Stamm.* Mithrid. part III. vol. iii. p. 337.

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book is but a collection of words, and does not contain any grammatical explanations. The learned Vater has taken immense pains, from the scanty helps within his reach, to discover the grounds and principles of these idioms, and what he has written on the subject is a proof of what talents and industry can effect with little means. But still the matter is not sufficiently understood. There is in the library of the society of the United Brethren in this town, an excellent MS. grammar of the Lenni Lenape, written in German by Zeisberger. I understand that the Historical Committee of the American Philosophical Society are going to publish an English translation of this valuable work. I rejoice in the prospect of this publication, which will give a clear and satisfactory view of the true genius and character of the languages of the Indian nations. At the request of the same Committee, I have endeavoured to give some further developement of the principles which that grammar contains, in a series of letters to their Secretary, which, I am informed, are also to be printed. This supersedes the necessity of my entering here into more details on this interesting subject. I hope the result of these publications will be to satisfy the world that the languages of the Indians are not so poor, so devoid of variety of expression, so inadequate to the communication even of abstract ideas, or in a word so *barbarous*, as has been generally imagined.

IV. The Floridian.

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I call by this generic name, the languages spoken by those Indian nations who inhabit the southern frontier of the United States and the Spanish Province of Florida. They are the Creeks or Muskohgees, Chickesaws, Choctaws, Pascagoulas, Cherokees or Cheerakees, and several others. It is said that there once existed among them a powerful nation called the Natchez, whose lan-

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their solemn sacrifices. These religious ceremonies are not always performed in the same manner. I had intended to have given some details upon this subject, but I find that it has been almost exhausted by other writers,* although I will not pretend to say that they are correct on every point. But I do not wish to repeat things which have already been told to the world over and over. Therefore, if on some subjects, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians, I should be thought to have passed over too quickly, and not to have sufficiently entered into particulars, let it be understood that I have done so to avoid the repetition of what others have said, although I am afraid I have been inadvertently guilty of it in more than one instance. I would not presume to communicate my little stock of knowledge, if I did not think that it will add something to what is already known.

I do not recollect that it has already been mentioned, that previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifices, the Indians prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting, and drinking decoctions from certain prescribed plants. This they do to expel the evil which is within them, and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the *sacred performance*, for such they consider it. Nor is the object of those sacrifices always the same; there are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favours received by them and their ancestors from the great Being, others for special or particular benefits. After a successful war they never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies.

* See Loskiel, part 1, ch. 3.

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733 "drink heartily, drink! It will not hurt you.' All this "is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you "have obtained from me all you want, you call me a "drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this "is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they "come to trade with you. So now you know when you "see me coming to your town again, you may say to "one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again! "he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to "be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the "house, and be called a *drunken dog*!'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

114 764 I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

764 766 It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

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CHAPTER XLII.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND ANECDOTES.

I HOPE I shall be excused for bringing here together into one view a few observations and anecdotes which either could not well find their places under any of the preceding divisions of my subject, or escaped my recollection at the proper time. These additional traits will contribute something to forming a correct idea of the Indian character and manners.

I have observed a great similarity in the customs, usages, and opinions of the different nations that I have seen, however distant from each other, and even though their languages differ so much that no traces of a common origin can be found in their etymology. The uniformity which exists in the manners of the Christian nations of Europe is attributed to their common religion and to their having once been connected together as parts of the Roman Empire. But no such bond of union appears to have subsisted between the Iroquois, for instance, and the Delawares, and yet, the language excepted, they resemble each other considerably more than the inhabitants of some European countries. I shall not endeavour to account for this remarkable fact, but I think it my duty to state it.

I have shewn in a former chapter* that the mythological notions of the Delaware Indians prevailed in the same manner among the Wabash; it is not in that alone that those nations resemble each other, though living at a great distance. It is the custom among the Delawares that if a hunter shoots down a deer when another per-

* Ch. 34. pp. 248. 249.

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"to the top of the highest mountains and descend at plea- 461
"sure into the vallies. And is it possible, said I, that
"a being so formed as I am, was created to live in idle-
"ness, while the birds who have no hands, and nothing
"but their little bills to help them, work with cheerful-
"ness and without being told to do so? Has then the
"great Creator of man and of all living creatures given
"me all these limbs for no purpose? It cannot be; I
"will try to go to work. I did so and went away from the
"village to a spot of good land, built a cabin, enclosed
"ground, planted corn, and raised cattle. Ever since that
"time I have enjoyed a good appetite and sound sleep;
"while the others spend their nights in dancing and are
"suffering with hunger, I live in plenty; I keep horses,
"cows, hogs and fowls; I am happy. See! my friend;
"the birds and fishes have brought me to reflection and
"taught me to work!"

CHAPTER XLIII.

ADVICE TO TRAVELLERS.

NOTHING is so common as the indiscriminate 514
charge laid upon travellers of relating strange and wonderful things for the mere purpose of exciting admiration and raising themselves into consequence. I believe for my part that this accusation is in general unjust as well as unfair, and that travellers seldom impose upon others except when they have been imposed upon themselves. The discredit which they have fallen into is more owing to their errors and mistakes than to wilful imposition and falsehood. It is therefore rendering them and the world

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an essential service to point out the means of avoiding those deceptions, which if not sufficiently guarded against, will at last destroy all belief in the accounts given by travellers of distant nations and of manners and customs different from our own.

The first and most important thing for a traveller is a competent knowledge of the language of the people among whom he is. Without this knowledge it is impossible that he can acquire a correct notion of their manners and customs and of the opinions which prevail among them. There is little faith to be placed in those numerous vocabularies of the languages of distant nations which are to be found in almost every book of voyages or travels; they are generally full of the most ridiculous mistakes; at least (for I must speak only of what I know) those which relate to the Indian languages of North America. I was some years ago shewn a vocabulary* of the idiom of the Indians who inhabited the banks of the Delaware, while Pennsylvania was under the dominion of the Swedes, which idiom was no other than the pure Unami dialect of the Lenape, and I could hardly refrain from laughing at the numerous errors that I observed in it; for instance, the Indian word given for *hand*, in fact means *finger*. This is enough to shew how carelessly those vocabularies are made, and how little their authors are acquainted with the languages that they pretend to teach.

The cause of these mistakes may be easily accounted for. When pointing to a particular object you ask an Indian how it is called, he never will give you the name of the *genus*, but always that of the *species*. Thus if you point to a tree, and ask for its name, the answer will be oak, beech, chesnut, maple, &c. as the case may be. Thus the Swedish author of the vocabulary that I have mentioned, probably happened to point to a *finger*, when he

* Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum, bound with an Indian translation from the Swedish of Luther's Catechism. Stockholm, 1696, duod.

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asked what was the Indian word for *hand*, and on receiving the answer, without further enquiry enriched his work with this notable specimen of Indian learning. 124 [114]

When I first went to reside among the Indians, I took great care to learn by heart the words *Kuccu k'delloundamen yun?* which mean *What do you call this?* Whenever I found the Indians disposed to attend to my enquiries, I would point to particular objects and repeat my formulary, and the answers that they gave I immediately wrote down in a book which I kept for the purpose; at last when I had written about half a dozen sheets, I found that I had more than a dozen names for "*tree*," as many for "*fish*," and so on with other things and yet I had not a single generic name. What was still worse, when I pointed to something, repeating the name or one of the names by which I had been taught to call it, I was sure to excite a laugh; and when in order to be set right I put the question *Kuccu*, &c. I would receive for answer a new word or name which I had never heard before. This began to make me believe that every thing was not as it should be, and that I was not in the right way to learn the Indian language.

It was not only in substantives or the proper names of things that I found myself almost always mistaken. Those who are not acquainted with the copiousness of the Indian languages, can hardly form an idea of the various shades and combinations of ideas that they can express. For instance, the infinitive *Mitxin*, signifies *to eat*, and so does *Mohoan*. Now although the first of these words is sufficiently expressive of the act of eating something, be it what it may, yet the Indians are very attentive to expressing in one word what and how they have eaten, that is to say whether they have been eating something which needed no chewing, as pottage, mush or the like, or something that required the use of the teeth. In the latter case the proper word is *mohoan*, and in the former *guntammen*. If an Indian is asked *k'dapi mitxi?* have

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124 when they find a white man inclined to listen to their tales of wonder, or credulous enough to believe their superstitious notions, there are always some among them ready to entertain him with tales of that description, as it gives them an opportunity of diverting themselves in their leisure hours, by relating such fabulous stories, while they laugh at the same time at their being able to deceive a people who think themselves so superior to them in wisdom and knowledge. They are fond of trying white men who come among them, in order to see whether they can act upon them in this way with success. Travellers who cannot speak their language, and are not acquainted with their character, manners and usages, should be more particularly careful not to ask them questions that touch in any manner upon their superstitious notions, or, as they are often considered even by themselves "fabulous amusements." Nor should a stranger ever display an anxiety to witness scenes of this kind, but rather appear indifferent about them. In this manner he cannot be misled by interested persons or those who have formed a malicious design to deceive him. Whenever such a disposition appears (and it is not difficult to be discovered) questions of this kind should be reserved for another time, and asked in a proper manner before other persons, or of those who would be candid and perhaps let the enquirer into the secret.

114 484 I have been led to consider Carver, who otherwise is deserving of credit for the greatest part of what he has written on the character of the Indians, to have been imposed upon in the story which he relates of having learned by means of a conjurer (the chief priest of the Killistenoes, as he calls him) who pretended to have had a conversation with the great Spirit, the precise time when a canoe should come, and certain traders who had been long expected should arrive.* Had Carver resided a longer time among the Indians, so as to have acquired a

* Carver's Travels, Introduction, p. 72. Boston Edit, 1797.

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more intimate acquaintance with their customs,* he would have known that they have one in particular (which I understand is universal among all the tribes), which would have easily explained to him what he thought so mysterious. Whenever they go out on a journey, whether far or near, and even sometimes when they go out on hunting parties, they always fix a day, on which they either will return, or their friends at home shall hear from them. They are so particular and punctual in "making their word true," as they call it, that when they find that at the rate they are travelling, they would probably be at home a day or so sooner than the time appointed, they will rather lay by for that time than that their word should not be precisely made good. I have known instances when they might have arrived in very good time the day preceding that which they had appointed, but they rather chose to encamp for the night, though but a few miles distant from their home. They urge a variety of reasons for this conduct. In the first place, they are anxious not to occasion disappointment in any case when they can avoid it. They consider punctuality as an essential virtue, because, say they, much often depends upon it, particularly when they are engaged in wars. Besides, when the day of their return is certainly known, every thing is prepared for their reception, and the family are ready with the best that they can provide to set before them on their arrival. If, however, unforeseen circumstances should prevent them from coming all on the same day, one, at least, or more of them, will be sure to arrive, from whom those at home will learn all that they wish to know.

On all important occasions, in which a tribe or body of Indians are concerned or interested, whether they are looking out for the return of an embassy sent to a dis-

* Carver was only 14 months in the Indian country, during which time he says he travelled near 4000 miles and visited twelve different nations of Indians.

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tant nation, for messengers with an answer on some matter of consequence, for runners despatched by their spies who are watching an enemy's motions, or for traders who at stated periods every year are sure to meet them at certain places, they always take proper and efficacious measures to prevent being surprised.

The case which appears to have excited so much astonishment in Captain Carver, I believe to have been simply this. The Indians had at the season that he speaks of failed to arrive at the trading place at the time appointed. The Indians who had assembled there for the purpose of meeting them could not be ignorant of the cause of their delay, as they had, no doubt, learned it by the return of some of their runners sent out for that purpose, who, as is their custom, probably informed them that another set of runners would be in the next day with further advices. The priest must have known all this, and the precise spot where those fresh runners were to encamp the night preceding their arrival, which is always well known and understood by means of the regular chain of communication that is kept up. These runners say to each other, pointing to the heavens: "When the sun stands there, I will be here or at such "a particular spot," which they clearly designate. The information thus given is sure to reach in time the chiefs of the nation.

The manner in which this priest spoke to Captain Carver of his pretended intercourse with the great Spirit, clearly shews the deception that he was practising upon him. "The great Spirit," said he, "has not indeed "told me when the persons we expect will be here, but "to-morrow, soon after the sun has reached his highest "point in the heavens, a canoe will arrive, and the peo-"ple in that will inform us when the traders will come." The question, then, which he had put to the great Spirit, "when the traders would come?" was not answered, and there was no need of asking the Mannitto when the ca-

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nocs should come, for that must have been known already, and that the people in it would tell them where the traders were, and when they might be expected to arrive.

As in or about the year 1774, I was travelling with some Christian Indians, two Indians of the same nation, but strangers to us, fell in with us just as we were going to encamp, and joined us for the night. One of them was an aged grave looking man, whom I was pleased to see in our company, and I flattered myself with obtaining some information from him, as, according to the Indian custom, age always takes the lead in conversation. I soon, however, perceived, to my great mortification, that he dwelt on subjects which I had neither a taste for nor an ear to hear; for his topic was the supernatural performances of Indians through the agency of an unseen Mannitto. I did not pay any attention to what he said, nor did any of our Christian Indians shew marks of admiration or astonishment at the stories he was telling, but sat in silence smoking their pipes. The speaker having, after an hour's time, finished his relations, the oldest Indian in my company addressed himself to me and said: "Now you have heard what some Indians can "perform. Have you ever heard the like before, and do "you believe all you have heard?" "There are," I answered, "many things that I have heard of the Indians, "and which I believe to be true, and such things I like to "hear; but there are also things which they relate "which I do not believe, and therefore do not wish to "know them. While our friend here was just now tel- "ling us stories of this kind, which I cannot believe, I "was wishing all the time that he might soon have fi- "nished and tell us something better." The Indian, taking the hint in good part, asked me then what things I should like to hear? On which I made him this reply: "As you are a man already in years, and much older "than myself, you must have seen many things that I

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PREFACE

Any group of people who have been able to preserve even some of the beliefs and customs of their ancestors of three and a half centuries ago in the face of intense, largely continuous pressure to abandon them merits the interest and attention of the social scientist. The Delaware Indians of Oklahoma are such a people — a people who only today are finally relinquishing a cultural tradition old in the time of John Smith and Henry Hudson.

Despite the wealth of documentary material dealing with Delaware culture, no comprehensive description of its early form has been written. Herman has recently reconstructed the early historic culture from documentary sources; her study, however, is not comprehensive.[1] Kinietz has attempted "to assemble and analyze data on the culture. . . from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why."[2] Unfortunately, this analysis was only partly successful.[3] Several aspects of Delaware culture have received adequate treatment. The religious beliefs and practices, particularly of later times, have been described at length.[4] Delaware language has been described and analyzed,[5] and the Walam Olum or Red Score has been discussed extensively.[6] Apart from Kinietz' preliminary effort, there has been no attempt to describe or analyze Delaware acculturation. Likewise, no consideration has ever been given to the final phases of Delaware acculturation, or assimilation, particularly the part which the Delawares are playing in what has been termed the Pan-Indian society. The aims of this study are, then, to reconstruct the early historic culture of the Delawares, to describe how it changed under the impact of Euro-American civilization, and to explain, at least in broad terms, why the changes took place.

This study was originally prepared under the direction of the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy degree. New data have altered the original dissertation to some extent, although the organization and conclusions remain essentially the same. Two chapters were deleted and included in others, and a map has been added.

During the summer months of 1951 and 1952 an ethnographic study was made of the Delaware Indians in Oklahoma. The cost of this field work was borne in part by funds provided by the Ford Foundation and administered by the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan. I gratefully acknowledge this assistance. I particularly want to thank

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946, p. 15.
[3] Speck, 1948, pp. 723-24.
[4] Speck, 1931; Harrington, 1921.
[5] C. F. Voegelin, 1946; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, 1946.
[6] Brinton, 1885; Lilly, 1944, pp. 33-40; E. W. Voegelin, 1940, pp. 28-31; Lilly, *et al.*, 1954. See Griffin, 1955, for a review of the preceding volume; Newcomb, 1955, pp. 57-63.

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of their kin who had moved there directly from northern New York. They, therefore, united with the Hurons (Talamatans) to drive out the Talega (Tsalaki, Cherokees) from the upper Ohio. This they only succeeded in accomplishing finally in the historic period. But they did clear the road and reached the Delaware valley, though neither forgetting nor giving up their claims to their western territories.[30]

It is not my purpose to go into the authenticity of the Walam Olum or the accuracy of its migration account. Suffice it to say that the Walam Olum was probably a product of the Delawares during their phase of revivalistic nativism and that it seems "to be an account, by a despairing person unable to gain his customary satisfactions from a life that no longer existed, of a Golden Age which never was. . . . Indeed the Walam Olum plainly appears to be the mirror image of a nativistically oriented people, rather than an authentic account of their history."[31]

The Location and Divisions of the Early Historic Delawares

It is impossible, for the following reasons, to know precisely the name, location, and affiliations of all the peoples who at the end of the seventeenth century joined forces and became known as the Delawares. First, the Delawaran peoples were aboriginally and during most of the seventeenth century unorganized politically and composed of a large number of subdivisions. Second, three different European nations were in contact with Delawaran peoples during this century. Their names for various groups often differed, and their interest in the relationships and locations of the various divisions was often slight. Third, these natives were soon displaced geographically and much reduced in numbers. Lastly, an unknown number of non-Delawaran peoples were incorporated into the Delaware tribe at the end of the seventeenth century. I have not undertaken the prodigious task of locating the Delawaran peoples by investigating all of the primary sources, although such a study is sorely needed; instead, a synthesis of previous investigations and two seventeenth-century maps is presented. This discussion is, therefore, liable to inaccuracies of various kinds.

For convenience the Delawares at the opening of historic times may be described as being composed of three geographical groups, traditionally called the Munsi, Unami, and Unalachtigo. The people who were to become the core of the tribe composed the division which became known in the mid-eighteenth century as the Unami. According to Brinton, the term Unami means "people down the river."[32] Zeisberger used the term

[30] Brinton, 1885, pp. 165-66.

[31] Newcomb, 1955, p. 63.

[32] The following discussion and Map 1 are based on Ruttenber, 1872, pp. 89-93; Hrdlicka, 1902, pp. 33-37; Skinner, 1909, pp. 30-32; Bolton, 1920, pp. 226-86; Swanton, 1952, pp. 48-55; Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656, opposite p. 294 in Jameson, 1909; and N. J. Visscher's Map of New Netherland, New England . . . about 1655, opposite p. 170 in Myers, 1912.

[33] Brinton, 1885, p. 36.

[text continues on p. 7]

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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

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[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1948.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-259, 323-52.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

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Delaware Technology

Subsistence

At the beginning of historic times all of the Middle Atlantic Slope cultures subsisted by means of hoe-gardening, fishing, and hunting. The relative importance of each of these subsistence methods has long been disputed for the area as a whole. Kroeber has maintained that agriculture was not basic to life in the Eastern Area, that "there is little to argue that the culture was leaning very fundamentally on agriculture."[6] He is almost certainly in error in minimizing agriculture and in the reasons he gives for its unimportance, at least so far as the Delawares were concerned. Among the more inland groups agriculture definitely was of paramount importance. In 1654 Lindestrom described a group on the Schuylkill who had ". . . . their dwellings side by side one another, wherefore this land is thereby being cleared and cultivated with great power."[7] Juet before 1610 described a group in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook as having a "great store of Maiz,"[8] and De Vries, De Laet, and William Penn all said that the principal food was maize.[9] Krieger in 1663, in an expedition against some New Jersey Delawares, cut down two hundred and fifteen acres of maize and burned over one hundred pits of corn and beans.[10] Wallace recently contended that agriculture was basic in the economy and added that the high status of women was a function of their basically important agricultural activities.[11] Hunting, gathering, and fishing were also important activities, and seasonally they may well have rivaled agricultural activity.

Gardening.—The principal crop plant was corn or maize (*Zea mays*), raised by the women.[12] They had several varieties ". . . . white, red, blue, flesh-colored, brown, yellow and spotted ears."[13] Holm in the early decades of the seventeenth century said the Delawares grew ". . . black maize of the colour of tar. . ."[14] Harrington in his field work among the Oklahoma Delawares noted six varieties that had been handed down from the early days and were still grown. There were "three soft and three hard" varieties.[15] The Delawares today remember or possess a white-flour corn used principally in bread;[16] red corn, a flint variety; Osage corn, a soft variety; blue corn; and Deer corn, a striped variety (J.T.). There is no assurance that these varieties have not been borrowed by the Delawares in recent times. The cultivated fields seem to have been rather small in extent. Kalm stated that an Indian's garden took up no more ground "than a farmer in our country takes to plant cabbage for his family. At least, a farmer's cabbage and turnip ground,

[6] Kroeber, 1947, p. 148.
[7] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 170.
[8] Juet, 1909, p. 18.
[9] De Vries, 1909, p. 218; De Laet, 1909, p. 57; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[10] O'Callaghan, 1851, IV: 39.
[11] Wallace, 1947, pp. 9-10.
[12] De Laet, 1909, p. 49; Denton, 1845, p. 6; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Thomas, 1912, p. 341; Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[13] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 179; see also De Rasieres, 1909, p. 107; Kalm, 1937, I: 74.
[14] Holm, 1834, p. 49.
[15] Harrington, 1913, p. 221.
[16] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 180, said bread was baked from white and yellow corn.

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221 the Indians congregated in their small villages, gardening and, if near the sea or a river, fishing. After they had planted the gardens they regularly visited the Europeans.[102] Following the harvest, and at least in later times after the socioreligious ceremonies climaxed by the Big House Ceremony, the villages were deserted as individual families scattered to their hunting territories. The first fall hunt was for deer and seems to have been communal, perhaps prior to the dispersal to individual hunting grounds. After the deer hunt bears and other game were sought by individual hunters.[103] The men hunted until February or March, depending upon the season. In later times the individual families then went to their sugaring grounds; there the women collected and boiled down the maple sap while the men continued to hunt.[103] In spring they again moved to their villages and planted their crops. Wallace has pointed out, however, that there were some exceptions to the hunting-gardening cycle;[104] different sorts of adjustment by different groups were necessary in the relatively diverse habitat of the Delawares.

Property Concept and Hunting Territories

422 The concept of private ownership of personal equipment, tools, and the like was well developed among the Delawares. Heckewelder, who had a good grasp of this subject, said:

> There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.[105]

Although most of Heckewelder's examples were items introduced by Europeans, there seems to be no reason why this sort of property concept was not an early one. This type of ownership is akin to our own concept of property; the "ownership" of other kinds of property was quite distinct from our own.

[421] W. C. MacLeod,[106] utilizing Speck's[107] investigation, has presented a well-documented case for the family ownership of hunting grounds. 423 The purpose of his paper was obviously to support the contentions of

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[102] Denton, 1845, p. 7; Holm, 1834, p. 123; De Rasieres, 1909, pp. 107-8.
[103] De Vries, 1909, p. 222; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 12-13; Loskiel, 1794, p. 78.
[104] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 13.
[105] Wallace, 1947, p. 17.
[106] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 158-59.
[107] MacLeod, 1922, pp. 448-63.
[108] Speck, 1915, pp. 289-308.

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R. H. Lowie[108] and others who at this time (ca. 1920) were attempting to demonstrate that private ownership was the rule and not the exception in primitive society. I do not deny that the Delawares shared in the Eastern Algonkian trait of family-held hunting grounds. I do deny, however, that the early historic concept of land ownership was analogous to the European one. Wallace, who has made the most penetrating study of early Delaware land tenure, summed up their concept by saying:

> To the Delaware Indian, land was an element, a medium of existence, like the air and the sunlight and the rivers. To him, "ownership" of land meant, not exclusive personal title to the soil itself, but occupation of a certain position of responsibility in the social unit which exploited the soil. The "sale" of land (to use the white man's term) might, to the Delaware, be almost any mutually satisfactory change in the relationship of two groups of persons subsisting on the land. In the earliest sales, the Indians seem to have intended only to give the whites freedom to use the land in conjunction with the native population.[109]

MacLeod in a footnote tacitly agreed with this point of view, saying: "The selling of land of course was a notion foreign, so far as we know, to native ideas or practice."[110]

There are no seventeenth-century sources which, to my knowledge, described directly and in straightforward fashion the hunting territories. On the basis of the records of early land transactions, however, both MacLeod and Wallace have reconstructed the system which must have existed. The smallest unit of land was a named "hunting territory covering up to two hundred square miles of land."[111] Their boundaries were often vague, and territories overlapped, although natural landmarks were used as boundaries. "Such territories are often associated in European documents with the names of individual Indians, who are called 'owners.'"[112] Most of these territories were, however, sold by groups of Indians. In short, the so-called "owners" were simply representatives of the social units who used this land.[113] It also appears that disposition of these territories did not rest solely in the hands of these individuals, but was the privilege of the community.[114] Wallace has demonstrated that a number of individual hunting territories made up a larger unit which he terms "communal territories" of "up to 1500 square miles."[115]

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Inheritance of hunting territory right is but vaguely understood. MacLeod has suggested that the inheritance of hunting territory was through the paternal line, since it was used primarily by males. If this was true it would suggest either that matrilineal reckoning of kinship was a historic accretion to Delaware culture, or that the two systems existed side by side.[116] Wallace has concluded, as have I, that the maternal lineage was the social unit that "owned" or perhaps more aptly

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[108] Lowie, 1920, pp. 210 ff.

[109] Wallace, 1947, p. 3; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 102, agreed with this concept of land possession.

[110] MacLeod, 1922, p. 483.

[111] Wallace, 1947, p. 3.

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 3; MacLeod, 1922, p. 483.

[113] Wallace, 1947, p. 4.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[116] MacLeod, 1922, p. 482.

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not uncommon: "Mr. Conner knows of many instances of it having been committed, sometimes by shooting, but generally by eating the root of the may apple. It proceeds most frequently from excess of gref (sic) or from disappointment in love."[117] There are indications, then, of a pattern of sex-oriented suicide in Delaware culture at least as early as the eighteenth century.

Kin Groups

There is no way of knowing exactly how much Delaware kinship structure and terminology changed in the two and a half centuries following European invasion. That it did change during this period is virtually certain, since factors which induce change were present, such as altered rules of residence, decreased polygyny, and increased economic and political importance of men. The literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gives no description of the kinship structure. L. H. Morgan was the first investigator to furnish information on the subject, obtaining his data in 1859 on the Kansas reservation of the Delawares. Even at this time Morgan termed the system "deteriorated."[118] I shall first describe the system found by Morgan, then compare it with the modern one, and finally turn to a reconstruction of the early historic system. Kinship terms given by Zeisberger and other earlier authors are too scant to yield any information; these nuclear terms agree with Morgan's lists.

Nineteenth-Century Kinship Terms and Principles

The kinship system of both the Munsi and Unami has been called the "Mackenzie Basin" type by Spier, and would be termed Hawaiian by Murdock.[119] According to Morgan, the essential features of the Delaware (Unami) system (Fig. 1, p. 45: Fig. 2, p. 46) were:

1. A brother's son and daughter, whether Ego was male or female, were termed son and daughter.
2. A sister's son and daughter, Ego a male, were nephew and niece. Ego a female, they were son and daughter.
3. Parallel and cross-cousins were termed stepbrother and stepsister, "the males and females using different terms."[120]
4. A father's brother was termed little father.
5. A mother's brother was termed uncle.
6. Mother's sister, father's sister, and father's brother's wife were termed little mother.
7. All grandparents and all kin of the second ascending generation were called grandmother or grandfather.

[117] Trowbridge MS.
[118] Morgan, 1871, p. 221.
[119] Spier, 1925, p. 78; Murdock, 1949, pp. 223, 228.
[120] Morgan, 1871, pp. 221-22.

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powers, serving primarily in the capacity of adviser.[139] This position was gained through inheritance.[140] Morgan agreed with him, saying: 615

> A Delaware woman, after stating to the author that she, with her children, belonged to the Wolf gens, and her husband to the Turtle, remarked that when Captain Ketchum ... late head chief or sachem of the Turtle gens, died, he was succeeded by his nephew, John Conner ... a son of one of the sisters of the deceased sachem, who was also of the Turtle gens. The decedent left a son, but he was of another gens and consequently incapable of succeeding. With the Delawares, as with the Iroquois, the office passed from brother to brother, or from uncle to nephew, because descent was in the female line.[141]

The three phratries have frequently been confused with the three geographical divisions of the Delawares. Heckewelder was the first to make this association, and his copyists have continued his correlation.[142] The association was Turtle with Unami, Turkey with Unalachtigo, and Wolf with Munsi.[143] Harrington dissented from this viewpoint on the basis that phratry members could be found among any of the geographical divisions.[144] As early as 1824 Trowbridge specifically denied this association and said that members of all three phratries were found in the Munsi group.[145] There can be little doubt that Heckewelder was mistaken in associating the geographical divisions with the phratries.

Social Control

Government

Relatively more information exists dealing with political organization and government of the early historic Delawares than concerning the kinship system. Europeans had an opportunity to observe the governmental machinery, participating in councils and the like, but their contact with the kinship system was so slight that they could not understand it. 114 ● 622

Each social unit, or clan, had a leader, usually termed "sachem" in the literature, who had inherited his position through the maternal line. "When a king dies it is not his children who succeed him, but his brother by the same mother, or his sister's, or her daughter's male children."[146] Penn, who has given the clearest description of government, said:

> Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.[147]

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[139] Harrington, 1913, p. 211.
[140] *Ibid.*
[141] Morgan, 1877, p. 173.
[142] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 61-63; Brinton, 1885, p. 39.
[143] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 61-63.
[144] Harrington, 1913, p. 209.
[145] Trowbridge MS.
[146] Holm, 1834, p. 133.
[147] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Thomas, 1913, p. 335, and Zeisberger, 1910, p. 98, agreed on the matriarchal succession of sachems.

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IV. DELAWARE IDEOLOGY

Religion and Magic

Of all the aspects of Delaware culture, religious ceremonies and beliefs have received the most extended treatment by anthropologists because this segment of culture has been better preserved than any other. F. G. Speck's *A Study of the Delaware Big House Ceremony* described the central religious ceremony of the Delawares, and his *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Dances, and Feasts* added to this account and described the minor ceremonies.[1] M. R. Harrington's *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, and his "Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture" dealt with the Big House Ceremony and a number of minor beliefs and practices.[2] It is hardly necessary, then, to present an extended treatment of Delaware religion; instead, particular attention will be paid to the early historic religious beliefs and practices.

Supernatural Beings

The Delawares believed in a single, all powerful, originally creative, supernatural power. He was called Gicelamu'kaong, which means "Great Spirit," "Great Power," or "Creator."[3] This supernatural figure was a remote one, somewhat removed from the affairs of men. He had appointed a number of agents who created the world and all upon it. He was capable of endowing any matter, either animate or inanimate, with supernatural attributes or power.[4] Lesser anthropomorphic deities, enjoying their authority through this primal power, were the Sun, the Moon, the Seven Thunders, the Four Directions, the Earth Mother, and the Mask Being, or Living Solid Face. The Sun and the Moon were addressed as Elder Brother, the former having the duty of providing light, and the latter that of protecting and guarding people at night.[5] Our Mother, the Earth, was Sun's sister, but not Moon's sister, and was charged with caring for and feeding the people.[6] The Seven Thunders, who combined features of men and birds, provided rain for crops, protected men from various water monsters, and were responsible for lightning.[7] The deities of the cardinal directions were associated with the wind and the

[1] Speck, 1931, 1937.

[2] Harrington, 1921; 1913, pp. 208-35.

[3] Penn, 1882, p. 244; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128; Speck, 1931, p. 26; Harrington, 1921, pp. 18-24; Trowbridge MS. gives a literal translation, "Keshaallemoonkunk, he who created us by his thought" (Kinietz, 1946, p. 88). The Christian Delaware religious texts use Kitannowit, "great spirit," rather than this term.

[4] De Laet, 1909, pp. 49-50; Brainerd, 1884, pp. 244-45.

[5] Brainerd, 1884, p. 345; Trowbridge MS; Harrington, 1913, p. 226; Speck, 1931, pp. 29-33; M.B.

[6] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; O.A., J.T., M.B.

[7] Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; 1921, pp. 29-30; M.B.

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lameness.[33] For fear of this soul nobody ever eats in the dark or allows a sick person to be in a dark room (J.T., N.D.).

The Delawares believed in an after life, but what this existence was like is only vaguely described in the early literature and probably was only vaguely envisaged by them. De Vries said that "when they die they sing like the ravens; but this singing is entirely different from the singing of angels."[34] One source stated that "some" believed that after a soul had been in the other world for a time it might be reborn on earth in another individual.[35] Harrington said that on the twelfth day after death the spirit made its way to the twelfth or highest home, a beautiful place, without pain or sorrow, where there were magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams, and fertile lands. This paradise was only for the good; where bad or evil spirits went is unknown.[36] This concept was in all likelihood a diffusion from Christianity.

The Big House Ceremony

The Big House or Annual Ceremony has been the principal ceremony and the focal point of Delaware religious observances at least since the second half of the eighteenth century. Prior to the tribal consolidation of the Delawares (in the early decades of the eighteenth century), this Ceremony could not have existed as it is now known, since in its modern form it is a tribal or national religious event. I do not agree with Kinietz that the Big House Ceremony came into existence as an adjunct of the revivalistic nativism of the Delawares after 1762.[37] It seems much more likely that it was synthesized during the early decades of the century at the time when other parts of the culture were being unified and the tribal society was emerging. As far as I have been able to determine, the import and the meaning of this ceremony have not been nativistic as would be required by Kinietz's hypothesis. Its general purpose was to give thanks for past blessings and to ensure good fortune for the coming year.[38] Morgan said: "They believe unless they observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will loose (sic) the favor of the Great Spirit."[39] I agree with Kinietz that "European civilization in contact with that of the Delawares was unconsciously responsible for the integration of the Big House Ceremony, the dropping and addition of many features . . . ,"[40] but I set the date for this integration half a century earlier than he does. The addition of the symbolic number twelve (from the twelve Apostles of Christianity?), the sacred number of the sweat lodge, and the appearance of the Mask Being during the ceremony are but two examples of historic additions to the ceremony.[41]

Unfortunately, the seventeenth-century documents contain little more than hints concerning the nature of the religious rites from which the the Big House Ceremony was synthesized. Denton, however, said:

[33] Speck, 1931, p. 25; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131; J.T.
[34] De Vries, 1909, p. 224.
[35] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 131.
[36] Harrington, 1921, pp. 52-54.
[37] Kinietz, 1940, pp. 117-21.
[38] Speck, 1931, p. 21; R.W., O.A.
[39] Morgan, 1859, MS.
[40] Kinietz, 1940, p. 121.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

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APPENDIX: THE SOURCE MATERIALS

The accuracy of the reconstruction of Delaware culture and the description of its change depend largely upon the trustworthiness of the source materials. The quantity and quality of the documents relating to the Delawares are relatively satisfactory. In the seventeenth century alone eleven individuals of four nationalities were eyewitness reporters of various aspects of native life. The extent to which these accounts agree with one another is reassuring. Most disagreements may be reconciled either as real differences present among the diverse Delawaran peoples, or as honest differences of opinion about customs observed.

Peter Lindestrom, Daniel Denton, and William Penn were the most important of the seventeenth-century sources in the quantity of ethnographic data their accounts contained. Lindestrom, a Swedish engineer and mathematician, came to New Sweden in 1653 and remained in the New World for two years. As an engineer and clerk of the court, he traveled extensively and had ample opportunity to observe and learn about native life, as is shown by his *Geographia Americae*, which was not published until 1691. He had, however, made notes or kept a journal while in the New World. His description of native life is, so far as I can judge, completely trustworthy.

Daniel Denton was among the first settlers in the township of Jamaica in 1656. His observations about the natives seem to be confined to inhabitants of western Long Island. It is possible that these Indians may have been Montauk rather than a Unami division, but if this is so they were culturally indistinguishable from the natives described by Lindestrom, Penn, and others. I have utilized Denton's *A Brief Description of New York* fully; it is not as complete an ethnography as Lindestrom's, but its quality is high, and Denton seems to have abided by his statement: "I. . . have writ nothing but what I have been an eyewitness to. . . ."[1]

William Penn's relatively complete description of Delawaran peoples dates from 1682 or 1683. His letter to the "Committee of the Free Society of Traders" was written after an extensive tour of his lands during which time he had many discussions with the natives about land matters. Some of Penn's statements were probably not derived from firsthand information, but his account agrees tolerably well with others of the late seventeenth century.

The descriptions of Delawaran peoples by Robert Juet and Isaack de Rasieres are the earliest of which I have knowledge. Juet was an officer aboard Henry Hudson's "Half-Moon." Juet's "The Third Voyage of Master Henry Hudson" was written before he sailed on Hudson's fourth voyage in 1610. His knowledge of the natives was superficial, but the very early date of his observations provides useful knowledge of early contacts with Europeans. Isaack de Rasieres' letter was written before the third

[1]Denton, 1845, Preface.

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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decade of the century; unfortunately for Delaware ethnography, sixteen crucial pages are missing. Despite this lack, De Rasieres shows surprising familiarity with marriage customs and government. When he depended upon secondhand information, however, his account is far less creditable. Johan de Laet's material dealing with the Delawares also dated from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. De Laet never visited America, but I used his data because he explicitly attempted to accurately describe native life and because he quoted extracts from the lost journal of Henry Hudson. He was also the first European to set down a vocabulary of the Delaware and Munsi languages. The fourth native of the Netherlands to write of the Delawares was David Pietersz De Vries. His observations were made in 1632 and 1633, and upon his return to Europe he published a book written from his journal. Myers has said that "he writes in a plain but vivid style and his book both internally and externally has well stood the tests of trustworthiness."[2] He was sympathetic towards the natives and has provided much valuable information. Adriaen Van der Donck, another native of Holland, wrote of the natives of New Netherland about the middle of the century. His description of the people is good, but the usable material is brief. Jaspar Dankers (or Danckaerts) and Peter Sluyter, in their journal kept between 1679 and 1680, contributed a small amount of information, chiefly about the religion and folklore of the natives.

The only German among the seventeenth-century writers was Francis Daniel Pastorius, a lawyer and scholar. His knowledge of the natives was limited, but what he did say about them I have found to be of value. His observations dated from 1683 to the close of the century. Gabriel Thomas, a Quaker by birth, was with the first group of Penn's emigrants. His account of Pennsylvania and "West New-Jersey" was published in 1698, but records events of almost two decades earlier. Myers said that Thomas had "a tendency to exaggerate in some of the passages; these lapses, however, are easily discernible. Where he writes what he himself knows he is in general reliable. . . ."[3] His observations upon native life fit in fairly well with other accounts, although he had the unfortunate habit of lumping all Indians together as far as their customs were concerned. Other information about the early seventeenth-century Delawares was obtained from the reliable data found in Thomas Campanius Holm's *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, and also in Amandus Johnson's summary of the information given by other Swedish writers about the Delawares.

In the first part of the eighteenth century David Brainerd, a religious zealot, provided some insights into religious customs, but little more. Peter Kalm, the great Swedish scientist, was in North America between 1748 and 1751 and has given a little information about the Delawares, chiefly ethnobotanical. By far the most important sources of information about them in the eighteenth century were David Zeisberger and

[2] Myers, 1912, p. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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John Heckewelder, both Moravian missionaries to the Delawares. They lived with the Delawares many years (in Zeisberger's case for more than fifty) and learned their language. Zeisberger was perhaps more ethnocentric and biased in his attitudes about the Delawares, although he viewed them more realistically than did Heckewelder. Heckewelder was more sympathetic towards them, but had a somewhat more romanticized conception of them than did Zeisberger. Neither man gave much information on religion, but in other respects they seem to have understood and written about the Delawares in a relatively thorough manner, considering the time and their occupations. Since they lived among the Delawares at a time when the culture was changing rapidly, their journals are valuable both for their ethnographic content and for the information they provide on culture change. A number of other sources of information concerning the eighteenth-century Delawares were used, but they were mostly minor, and are not discussed here.

Three nineteenth-century sources of information which I have used extensively deserve some comment: the diary of Abraham Luckenbach, another Moravian missionary, the journal of Lewis Henry Morgan, and the manuscript by Charles C. Trowbridge. Luckenbach maintained a mission to the Delawares on the White River in Indiana between 1801 and 1806. He was the best ethnographer of all the Moravians in terms of his interest in the native culture. He was also, as far as I can determine, the only white person ever to view and describe the Big House Ceremony.

Dr. Leslie A. White very kindly loaned me a copy of the unpublished "Journal of a Visit to Kansas and Nebraska in May and June, 1859, Number IV," by Lewis Henry Morgan. This journal contains many interesting insights into the condition of Delaware culture in 1859. Comments are unnecessary on the utility and validity of this journal and upon the other information supplied by the father of American ethnography.

Charles C. Trowbridge was employed by Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, to obtain answers to a pamphlet he had prepared entitled "Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, Etc. of the Indians, Living within the United States." Trowbridge wrote a thirty-seven page manuscript, two copies of which with different titles are in the Michigan Historical Collections. Trowbridge gained the information for this work in 1824 on the White River. I have used this account fully, and have utilized Kinietz's passages relating to other manuscripts fostered by Cass.[4]

[4] Kinietz, 1948, pp. 15-18.

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DAVID ZEISBERGER'S HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN AMERICAN INDIANS.

EDITED BY ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT AND WILLIAM NATHANIEL SCHWARZE.

INTRODUCTION.

The present volume reproduces the manuscript written in German by the Moravian hero-missionary, The Reverend David Zeisberger, at his mission home beside the Muskingum River, in Ohio, in the years 1779 and 1780. 114

Though there is extant a most excellent biography of this noble man, *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, by Bishop Edmund De Schweinitz (Philadelphia, 1870), very little is popularly known of him.

In the center of the old Black Forest of America, near New Philadelphia, Ohio, a half-forgotten Indian graveyard lies beside the dusty country road. You may count here several score of graves by the slight mounds of earth that were raised above them a century or so ago. At one extremity of this plot of ground an iron railing incloses another grave marked by a plain marble slab. The grave is David Zeisberger's,— Moravian Missionary to Indians in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Canada for fifty active years, who was buried at this spot at his dying request, that he might await the Resurrection among his faithful Indians. His record is perhaps unequalled in point of length of service by the record of any missionary in any land.

On a July night in 1726 a man and his wife fled from their home in Austrian Moravia toward the mountains on the border of Saxony, for conscience' sake. They took with them nothing save their five-year-old boy, who ran stumbling between them, holding to their hands. The family of three remained in Saxony ten years. Then the parents emigrated to America, leaving the

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● 114 son of fifteen years in Saxony to continue his education. But within a year he, too, took passage for America, and joined his parents in Georgia, just previous to their removal to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The lad soon became interested in the study of the Delaware Indian language among the natives of that tribe living along the Susquehanna, and at once showed proficiency. Appreciating his talent, the fathers of the Moravian Church determined to send the young man to Europe, that in the best universities he might secure his training. He went as far as New York. There, just as his ship was to sail, he pleaded with tears and on his knees to be allowed to return to the woods of Pennsylvania and the school of the red men there. The words of the wise were overcome by those of the youth, and an earnest soul, as brave as it was earnest, was saved to a life of unparalleled service and devotion.

On returning to Bethlehem, Zeisberger joined a class that was studying the Iroquois tongue, the language of that powerful nation which practically controlled, by tomahawk and threat, all the territory between the colonies and the Mississippi. Soon the looked-for opportunity of visiting the Iroquois' land came, and the young student (who had been enrolled in the class of candidates as *David Zeisburger, destinirter Heidenbote*) was told off to accompany the heroic Frederick Christian Post. This was in the dark year 1745, only a few months previous to the outbreak of the old French war. The youth was now in his twenty-fourth year.

In February of the next year after these two men entered the shadow of old New York, the report was circulated in New York City that two spies had been captured among the Iroquois, who were guilty of attempting to win that nation over to the French. Such a charge at this time was the most serious imaginable, for the contest for the friendship of the Iroquois between the French on the St. Lawrence and the English on the Atlantic had become of great importance. Upon that friendship, and the support it guaranteed, seemed to hang the destiny of the Continent. The rumor created endless consternation, and the

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spies were hurried on to Governor Clinton. Their trial resulted in imprisonment for six weeks, until the two were freed by an ordinance passed by Parliament exempting the missionaries of the Moravian Church from taking oath to the British Crown. Such was Zeisberger's first experience.

Back to the Iroquois land journeyed the liberated prisoner, and for ten doubtful years, until 1755, Zeisberger was engaged in learning the languages of the various tribes of the Six Nations, and in active missionary service. His success was great. Perhaps in all the history of this famous Indian Nation there was no other man, with the exception of Sir William Johnson, whom they trusted as much as they trusted David Zeisberger. Cheated on the one hand by the Dutch of New York and robbed on the other by the agents of the Dutch and the English, the Iroquois became suspicious of all men; and it is vastly more than a friendly compliment to record that in his mission-house at Onondaga, they placed the entire archives of their nation, comprising possibly the most valuable collection of treaties and letters from colonial governors ever made by an Indian nation on this continent. But war now drove the missionary away, as throughout his life war was ever to dash his fondest dreams and ever to drive him back.

Between 1745 and 1750 Zeisberger labored in New York, at Shamokin in Pennsylvania and in the valley of Wyoming; in 1750 he went to the Iroquois land with Cammerhoff; he then visited Europe but returned immediately and was a resident at Onondaga until the old French war opened in 1755; he was at Friedenshütten in 1765 and 1766; in the year following he crossed the mountains for the first time and met the Delawares on the Allegheny River; in 1768 and 1769 he was stationed in western Pennsylvania at Goschgoschünk, and at Lawanakhannek in 1769 and 1770; in the latter year his work carried him to the Beaver River; a year later he advanced to the Muskingum River in Ohio where the three well-known Moravian mission stations were built, Gnadenhütten, Lichtenau and Schoenbrünn; from now until 1781 he lived among the Delawares, though visiting the savage Shawanese in the Scioto

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● 114 on at least one occasion; in 1781 his mission was broken up by the British renegades and the missionary was driven with his flock to Sandusky. Now, in 1781, begins the *Diary of David Zeisberger*, edited by Eugene F. Bliss (Cincinnati, 1885) which has been the only work published in English of Zeisberger's.

The record of Zeisberger's resolute faithfulness to the remnant of his church from this time onward is almost incredible. Like a Moses he led them always, and first to a temporary home Macomb County, Michigan. From there they were in four years removed by the Chippewas. The forlorn pilgrims now set sail in two sloops on Lake Erie; they took refuge from a terrible storm in the mouth of the Cuyahoga River. For a time they rested at a temporary home in Independence Township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. Famine drove them in turn from here. Setting out on foot, Zeisberger led them next along the shore of Lake Erie westward to the present site of Milan, Erie County, Ohio. Here they resided until the outbreak of the savage Indian War of 1791. To escape from this Zeisberger secured from the British Government a tract of land twelve miles long and six miles wide for the Moravian Indians beside the Grand River in Canada. Here the pilgrims remained six years. But with the close of the Indian War, it was possible for them to return to their beloved home in the Tuscarawas Valley. The United States had given to the Moravian Church two tracts of land here, embracing the sites of the three towns formerly built, containing in all twelve thousand acres.

Back to the old home the patriarch Zeisberger brought his little company in the year 1798. His first duty amid the scene of the terrible Gnadenhütten Massacre was not forgotten. With a bowed head and heavy heart the old man and one assistant gathered from beneath the dense mass of bush and vine, whither the wild beasts had carried them, the bones of the ninety and more sacrificed Christians, and over their present resting-place one of the proudest of monuments now rises. For full ten years more this hero labored in the shadow of the forests where his happiest days had been spent, and only as the winter of 1808

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came down upon the valley from the lakes did his great heart cease beating and his spirit pass through the heavenly gates. 114

Zeisberger's eminent comrades, John Heckewelder and Benjamin Mortimer, thus speak of his character:*

"He was endowed with a good understanding and a sound judgment; a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those who are enemies of the Gospel which he preached. His reticence was the result of the peculiar circumstances of his life. He undertook many solitary journeys, and, in the first half of his life, lived at places where there either was no society, or such as was not congenial. Hence he withdrew within himself, and lived in a close communion with his unseen but ever present heavenly Friend. In all his views he was very thorough, not impulsive, not suffering himself to be carried away by extraneous influences, not giving an opinion until he had come to a positive and settled conclusion in his own mind. Experience invariably proved the correctness of his judgment. To this the missionaries who served with him all bear witness. Receiving, as it were, a glimpse of the future, through the deep thoughts and silent prayers in which he engaged, he stood up, on most occasions, full of confidence, and knew no fear. Amid distressing and perilous circumstances, not only his fellow-missionaries, but the Indian converts, invariably looked to him; and his courage, his undaunted readiness to act, his comforting words cheered them all. He would never consent to have his name put down on a salary-list, or become a 'hireling', as he termed it; saying, that although a salary might be both agreeable and proper for some missionaries, yet in his case it would be the contrary. He had devoted himself to the service of the Lord among the heathen without any view of a reward, other than such as his Lord and Master might deign to bestow upon him".

"Zeisberger was fully convinced that his vocation to preach the Gospel to the Indians and spread the kingdom of God was of divine origin, and therefore he sacrificed all vanities of the world, all convenience, and whatever is highly esteemed among men, and took up the mission of his life in strong faith, relying upon the blessing and aid of that Lord whom he served, and with joyous courage, in the midst of scorn and reproach, persecutions and menaces, hunger and perils, triumphing at last, in spite of every foe. His work was distinguished by perseverance, faithfulness, zeal, and courage. Nothing afforded him more satisfaction than the genuine conversion of those to whom he preached. This was the highest goal of his ambition. If he could gain one soul, and bring it to a saving knowledge of Christ, it was for him a more precious gift than if he had come into possession of the whole world.

* De Schweinitz *Life of Zeisberger.*

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To describe the joy he experienced when an erring sheep returned to the fold is impossible. In his ministry he neither forgot that he had to contend with 'the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience', nor that God was on his side. And, truly, he did overcome Satan, in an illustrious way, by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony; and loved not his life unto the death. He was not only bold in God, fearless and full of courage, but also lowly of heart, meek of spirit, never thinking highly of himself. Selfishness was unknown to him. His heart poured out a stream of love to his fellowmen. In spite of his constant journeys and exposure, he never needlessly sacrificed his health. His whole bearing was extremely venerable. He was an affectionate husband; a faithful and ever-reliable friend. In a word, his character was upright, honest, loving, and noble, as free from faults as can be expected of any man this side of the grave".

The original manuscript comprising the present volume is preserved in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; it has been followed literally by Professor Schwarze in making the excellent translation. Though lacking many features of careful composition, the original bears everywhere the evidences of calm, straight-forward, well-founded narrative. Being a man of singularly unselfish devotion and with great ability to focus his energies upon efforts that made up his life-work, Zeisberger applied himself to the study of Indian languages to such purpose that he mastered the Delaware language and the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois, the two most important languages of the North American Indians, and was able to do much for their development. He learned to know the Indians. He was not troubled with any misleading or romantic notions about the character and traits of these men of the woods. His knowledge of the manners, customs, character, and country of the Indians was perfected by his travels, study, observation, and uninterrupted labors.

All this argues the credibility of his narrative. Indeed, careful consideration will lead to the conclusion that as the story is given simply without aspiration to rhetorical embellishment, it is also clear and well-founded in its testimony. Zeisberger always uses calm and deliberate language, whether treating of the degradation and moral deformity of the savages, or of their redeeming traits. He really loved the Indians, spent his life in

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the effort to do them good, and he gives dispassionately and honestly what he had abundant opportunity to learn of their character, customs and country.

The name of this volume, "History of the Indians," was not given to the manuscript by its author, but, by the Bishop De Schweinitz. Zeisberger, had he named it, would probably have called it, "Notes on the History, Life, Manners, and Customs of the Indians," and the most casual reader will recognize from the mode of presentation and the occasional repetitions that the manuscript is in the form of notes. It has seemed best, however, to reproduce it verbatim as written. The complete analytical index will fully make up for irregularity in arrangement and the lack of proper ordering of the material.

This manuscript, of upwards of eighty thousand words, was evidently written for the Rev. Henry Loskiel to aid him in the preparation of his most valuable *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America.* Deriving his material from various sources, and writing inclusively of all the American Indians, Loskiel made less use of Zeisberger's manuscript than one would suppose, possibly incorporating, in one form or another, one-third of this manuscript and giving very slight recognition of the source of information. Moreover, writing as one who had little first-hand knowledge of his subject, many facts told by the venerable missionary of a certain Indian tribe lost, under Loskiel's treatment, much of their value, especially, when represented as though true of the typical American Indian. The result is that these pages from Zeisberger's pen, in the opinion of the editors, give the most reliable and accurate description in existence of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, written by one intimately acquainted with them. Lacking the polish and general literary excellence of his comrade John Heckewelder's *History,* the student perusing the two will surely agree that for solid information given in simple straight-forward style, the Zeisberger notes take first rank as a work of value. For instance, Zeisberger was practically uninfluenced by the appalling superstitions of the savages; the shams and frauds of their impotent sorcerers made but little impression on the rugged sense of the faithful missionary; so much so that one cannot

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read the few sentences which imply a deviation from this steady attitude without grewsome sensations.

The antiquarian and archaeologist will find in this volume interesting additional proof of the relationship of the so-called "Moundbuilders" and the earlier Indians, the implication being exceedingly strong that they were one and the same race; the reference to mounds, arrow-heads, stone hatchets, etc., etc., being illuminating.

Mention should be made of Zeisberger's attitude toward the Indian legends, especially that of Iroquois' conquest of the Delawares. It was only proper that this historian should include in his narrative the legends which were told to him; that he did not examine them critically and pass upon their accuracy dogmatically is not, in the opinion of the editors, a discredit to him. Banished as he voluntarily was from every access to reliable historical information, and overwhelmed with the great tasks he patiently set himself to perform, it is impossible to conceive of his even attempting to examine the myths that were told him by the lips of his red skinned brethren. It would be only fair, then, to the writer of this admirable work, for the reader mentally to insert, as these legends are recounted, the words "It is said," "they say," or "they believe," etc., for the spirit of the author never warrants our believing that he received them without question. Zeisberger did not express himself in such a manner as to warrant the unqualified statement, as we elsewhere note, made by the careful Parkman, that he (Zeisberger) put faith in the story of a deceptive conquest of the Delawares by the Iroquois.

For a considerable mass of new facts concerning the life and character of the Indians in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio, of their treatment of each other, of the married relationship, of the treatment of children, of home life and of political affairs, the student will look in vain outside of this Zeisberger manuscript. Its author wrote from an experience covering almost uninterruptedly the period from 1745 to 1778. The story of his life during those years should be read in De Schweinitz's excellent volume; no clear understanding of Ohio's history, especially in the Revolutionary period, is possible without knowing this volume. It is proper to note here a significant fact:

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Zeisberger's mature acquaintance with the redmen came in those years just preceding and succeeding Pontiac's Rebellion; these were the years of dissolution, the years when the influences of civilization and the coming of the European completed the overthrow of the Indian, his family life, his state, his ancient code of laws and social customs. In effect Pontiac said, "After me the deluge;" when the Revolutionary War came on, the redman of the Middle West was as different, compared with his grandfather as we of the Twentieth Century differ from what our great-grandfathers were. One of the most valuable features of Zeisberger's *History* lies just here. Having intimately known the Indian in transformation — the Indian that, though taking the musket and the axe and the blanket, was looking back wonderingly at the bow and stone ax and the feather-and-hemp covering — he is continually giving us precious glimpses, as accurate as they are rare, of the primeval redman. This series of facts concerning these first Americans makes Zeisberger's manuscript of more than ordinary value for his attitude is very largely that of a man looking backward; no other writer of his time maintains such an attitude or has left us a record of equal minuteness relating to the region covered.

On reading his manuscript one is inclined to believe thoroughly in Zeisberger's proposition that no one could get at the real facts concerning the inner life of the redmen unless engaged in the work of converting them.

Lastly, yet of great importance, is the scientific information contained in the manuscript. Through the able assistance of Dr. Arthur Magnum Banta, of the Carnegie Station for Experimental Evolution, the full scientific value of Zeisberger's comment and description may be appreciated by the reader. From the standpoint of the biologist, for instance, the manuscript seems to be reliable and is extremely interesting. It shows intrinsic evidence of being a reliable and careful account of the various animals and plants which the author observed with interest and about which he learned various facts as well as fancies from the Indians. Zeisberger has stated nothing which he did not suppose to be true, and the few fanciful statements are easily recognized since they are such as would today be found in any lay-

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114 man's account of natural things about him. Written by a man not a biologist the manuscript could not be other than an honest and in the main conservative account or it would show inconsistencies which could not have been appreciated by its author. No such inconsistencies appear. The chief scientific interest in the manuscript arises from the fact that it depicts conditions before the white settlers came into the Middle West, and before the ax, the rifle and the steel trap had seriously interfered with primitive natural conditions such as had existed from time immemorial. The changes in the animal and plant life since the author wrote are, of course, most sweeping. The account has its great interest and value because it is the only reliable record of the fauna and flora of the region before such marked changes occurred.

113 For the opinions expressed and views taken in the footnotes of this volume, as well as errors therein, the writer is personally responsible.

Zeisberger's published works include the *Diary* above mentioned; *Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book for the use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River* (Philadelphia, 1776); *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the Christian Indians, of the Missions of the United Brethren in North America* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Sermons to Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *Arg. Gottl Spangenberg. Something of Bodily Care for Children* (Philadelphia, 1803); *The History of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ*, by the Rev. Samuel Lieberkühn, M. A. (Tr. by Zeisberger). The above are in the Delaware language. Zeisberger's *Verbal Biegungen der Chippewayer* [Delawaren] was published in Vater's *Analekten der Sprachkunde* (Leipzig, 1821).

Zeisberger's manuscripts are numerous and include *Deutsch und Onondagaisches Worterbuch, Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar, Onondagaische* Grammatica (translated into English by Peter S. Duponcear, LL. D., still in Mss.), *A Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware Indians* (also translated by Dr. Duponcear, in Mss.), *A Dictionary in German and Delaware, Delaware Glossary, Delaware Vocabulary, Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware, Delaware Grammar, Harmony of the Gos-*

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work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. I have never known an Indian woman to complain of the hardship of carrying this burden (a pack on making a journey) which serves for their own comfort and support as well as their husbands . . . . the fatigue of the women is by no means to be compared to that of the men. Their hard and difficult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husbands' labours are constant in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him"—*An account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian nations* (1817) 146-7. As to the universal cheerfulness of Indian women Zeisberger is at variance with his compatriot. "The Indian women," writes Loskiel, "are more given to stealing, lying, quarreling, backbiting and slandering than the men"—*History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, (1794), 16. In our numerous references to the above mentioned writers, in footnotes, we shall use the following terminology, Heckewelder's *History*, Heckewelder's *Narrative*, and Loskiel's *History*.

8. Zeisberger, it must always be remembered, is writing in Ohio; his references to the country to the northward are the result of his acquaintance with the Six Nations in New York State.

9. The Onondaga tribe of Six Nations, located near Syracuse, New York.

9½. Zeisberger seems here to imply that the country of the Shawanese was Kentucky; elsewhere he clearly speaks of the Scioto Valley as but one hundred miles distant.

10. Contrary to the taste of other Indians, as the Dakotas, Schoolcraft, *History*, Pt. IV, 67.

11. Breech cloth.

12. Singularly enough, everything in an Indian's cabin had its specific owner. "Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. Thus while the principle of community of goods prevails in the State, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family"—Heckewelder, *History*, 147-8.

13. Indian Hemp; *Apocynum cannabium*. L.

14. Monsey, one of the Three Tribes of the Delawares living chiefly on the Beaver River.

15. Bunks made of boards.

16. The expression here is singular and shows that the western, migratory Iroquois were clearly distinguished from those who remained in the "Long House" in New York State.

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17. The Rev. David McClure states that such was the desire for dancing among the Delaware Indians that "they are building a dancing house in this small village, [the capital of the Delawares near the present site of Newcomerstown, O.] which will cost them more labour than one-half of the houses in it" — *Diary*, 77. This is one of the most valuable volumes of early travel (1770-1790) in the Middle West and will often be quoted.

18. It is interesting to compare the accounts of Zeisberger and Heckewelder, the former a jotter down of facts, the latter a formal historian. "The Indians are proud but not vain," write Heckewelder; "They consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. This passion of the Indians which I have called *pride*, but which might perhaps, be better denominated *highmindedness*, is generally combined with a great sense of honour, and not seldom produces actions of the most heroic kind" — *History*, 159, 161. The plain, unpretentious words of Zeisberger, often derogatory of the Indians, have a ring of accuracy that is found in almost no other record.

19. The length of space to which a man can extend his arms.

20. "Courage, art and circumspection, are the essential and indispensable qualifications of an Indian warrior" — Heckewelder, *History*, 166. According to Zeisberger's notion, how appropriate the first lines of the Delaware's chant on going to war: "O poor me!" *Id.* 204.

21. Pontiac's Rebellion.

22. Ottawas.

23. Revolutionary war.

24. Heckewelder's descriptions of Indian abhorrence of marital infidelity are not borne out by Zeisberger or Loskiel. David McClure, writing at Coshocton, in 1772, records: "Several of the aged Councillors had lived with one wife from their youth; but a great part of husbands and wives at Kekalemahpehoong [Delaware capital], had separated and taken others. I was astonished at the profligate description which young Killbuck (whose father had directed him to lodge in my house, and to wait on me), gave me of himself. He slept in a loft, which was ascended by a ladder at the farther end of the house. He conducted a squaw up the ladder every night. I asked him one day, if it was his wife? He said no. I admonished him for his conduct. He said he was nineteen years old, and had had several wives, and that he wanted one more, and he should be happy. It is natural to expect that but few children can be the fruit of such unbounded licentiousness. On an average there are about two or three to a family" — *Diary*, 91.

24½. The distinction here between "Indians" and "savages" implies that the former are Christian and the latter non-christian.

25. Goschgoschünk, in Venango County, Pennsylvania, a Delaware (Monsey) town on the Allegheny River — Edmund De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 324, *seq.* Few volumes relating to the

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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women officiated under such circumstances, Schoolcraft *History*, Pt. IV, 515. Loskiel refers to the efficiency of female doctors in child-birth. *History*, 110.

34. These primitive Turkish baths were, unquestionably, a great means of health to this race which suffered so largely from colds. Dr. McClure, who gives an interesting description of a sweating oven on the Muskingum, asserts, however, that to pulmonary disorders and small pox, the treatment was quite fatal. *Diary*, 67.

35. The Unamis, the chief tribe of the Delawares, lived on the Tuscarawas River. [131]

36. The Unalochtgos, the tribe of second importance, lived beside the Tuscarawas.

37. The Monseys lived mostly on the Big Beaver River.

38. Orange Co., N. Y.

39. It is refreshing, in the face of so many idealistic accounts of primitive Indian life to read these blunt, plain statements of facts from Zeisberger's pen. We probably know more accurately concerning the Six Nations than of any other Indians. One of the earliest reports claims that De Nonville's soldiers in 1687 destroyed a million and a quarter bushels of corn in four Seneca villages. And yet we know that the eating of children in time of utter famine was known among the Senecas — Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1755) II, 8. If such destitution could exist in a region exceedingly well watered and fertile, what of Indians not so fortunately placed?

40. Bracket fungus.

41. Remains of the Mound-building Indians. These were found on the site of at least one of the Moravian Mission towns, Lichtenau. De Schweinitz, *Life of Zeisberger*, 433, 436 *Note*.

42. Unquestionably a European idea; no mounds in the Middle West were high enough to serve the purpose of rolling blocks or stones. The greater part of the mounds so far opened prove to have been raised over charnel houses after the latter had been filled with bodies.

43. These facts concerning the wooden wampum and the substitute for wampum are of utmost interest.

44. Allegheny River.

45. Neville's Island? This is clearly, the Delaware tradition.

46. Tennessee River, commonly known in early days as the Cherokee River. See A. B. Hulbert's, "Washington's Tour to the Ohio," *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* XVII, (Oct. 1908), 484.

46½. At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix?

47. Here begins Zeisberger's version of the legend of the conquest of the Iroquois over the Delawares, one of the famous Indian legends. It is possible that this Zeisberger account is the original English (German) version upon which so many versions have been based. Heckewelder (*History* 11) referring to the source of his information.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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● 114 cites Loskiel, who had only Zeisberger's manuscript to follow. It is peculiar that Heckewelder should refer his readers to an authority who had no first-hand knowledge. Turning to Loskiel's version of the events which led up to the Delawares being made "women" we find (*History*, 124, *seq.*) that Zeisberger's plain account has been improved upon by being fashioned into formal speeches. These begin as follows:

"It is not profitable, that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have therefore considered of a remedy, by which this evil may be prevented. One nation shall be the woman. We will place her in the midst, and the other nations who make war shall be the man, and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if anyone does it, we will immediately say to him, 'Why do you beat the woman?'"

By comparison it will be seen that Loskiel has put Zeisberger's words into the mouth of speakers, whereas Zeisberger did not include his account in quotation-marks, giving merely the story as it was told to him. Loskiel, by putting the same words into the mouths of the speakers and phrasing it all in the first instead of the third person, as Zeisberger wrote it, turned a legend into a seemingly accurate historical document. Parkman takes both Loskiel and Heckewelder to task for taking the story in "good faith," (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, 31) but Loskiel had no reason to take Zeisberger's account as actual history; and De Schweinitz (*Life of Zeisberger*, 47) states that neither Zeisberger or Loskiel argue in favor of the story, while Heckewelder does. This forms an interesting example of the evolution of a legend into history: Zeisberger tells the Delaware legend, plainly and simply, in the third person; Loskiel forms it into speeches in the first person; Heckewelder takes these formal speeches and argues in their favor as true history.

680 48. Gourd or pumpkin.

48½. See William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, 214-215.

49. Woapanochky, "a people living toward the rising of the sun," was another name of the Delawares. Loskiel, *History* I, 2.

50. Albany, N. Y.

51. Bethlehem, Pa.

52. *Roccus lineatus* (Bloch) an important source of food to the early Virginians as attested by Captain John Smith and others.

53. *Alosa sapidissima* (Wilson).

134 54. Vernacular names of fishes are so numerous and so variable, the same common name being applied to very different fishes in different localities, that it is hard to identify some of these references with certainty. This however refers to *Perca flavescens* (Mitchill), commonly known as the yellow perch.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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FOREWORD

THE PRESENT PAPER represents an addition to the series of studies projected by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission on the life of the Indian peoples once resident within the State. This phase of the research program was planned some years ago by the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, and carried out, in part, with the aid of funds supplied by the Commission.

The author of the study deserves a special recognition through qualities she possesses by nature and birth for the task undertaken. Born and reared in the environment of a Mohegan Indian home in Connecticut, she had the advantage of association in childhood with her grandmother and other old women versed in tribal traditions of plant and herbal medicines. Without having had the privilege of a technical training in botanic taxonomy, Miss Tantaquidgeon thus acquired a knowledge of identification of growing plants and their curative qualities and folklore. Her contribution is one that presents the latter rather than the former aspect. With this background of information on the plant lore and medicines of the Mohegan of southern New England, the author was well fitted for the work of studying the Pennsylvania-New Jersey area, and the curing practices of the Delaware. The flora and folklore of both areas and groups are not those of distinct types.

Accordingly, when in 1928 Wi·tapanóxwe (James C. Webber), whose medicine practice is the basis of this study, appeared in Philadelphia and became the object of investigation at the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, the project was conceived and developed, leading to the collection of the present material. Miss Tantaquidgeon's training in comparative ethnology and lifelong interest in Algonkian nature-curing, placed her in a position to seize the opportunity. In the ensuing three years she worked at the recording of Wi·tapanóxwe's knowledge and theories as occasion offered.

The essay presented has limits in scope, some of which will appear more obvious to ethnologists than to others. It is not a study of a national stereotype medicine practice of the people we choose to designate as the Delaware Nation, but rather a sounding and analysis of information possessed by one typical practitioner in the healing profession. Individualism is indeed a trait of Pennsylvania Algonkian native culture in science as well as in character, even though the Delaware Indians are appreciably more institutionalized than the Algonkians formerly lying north of them. It may be expected that any Delaware phase of native "science" will show affinities with Iroquoian phases

when more material is at hand from both groups to merit conclusion. The accompanying study is therefore little more than a beginning in the line of investigation which presents prospects of promise.

It would not be judicious to avoid mention of pharmacological values which may lurk beneath the surface of the material recorded. The findings of native American herbalists through the processes of trial and error may still reveal evidences of understanding of the nature of ills and their cures which are old to mankind but new to laboratory science. Of such possibilities we are coming to know more and more as exploration proceeds and data accumulates. Psychotherapy plays its part. Plant chemistry plays its role, even though in many cases, the agencies may be in their effects negative or neutral to a considerable degree and positive in only a few. While no comprehensive study has as yet been produced in the general field of curative science in North America, it is appropriate that the Commission provides in the accompanying paper a step in the building up of material to this end from the Indians of Pennsylvania whose cultural properties must be sought out and published before the opportunity is lost forever.

The task of final preparation of the manuscript for publication was carried on by C. E. Schaeffer, Assistant State Anthropologist.

DONALD A. CADZOW,
State Anthropologist,
Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

4:Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
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APPENDIX II

USES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS AMONG THE CANADIAN DELAWARE

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THE following notes on the medicine practices of the Six Nations Delaware, Grand River Reserve, located near Hagersville, in Brant County, Ontario, Canada, were recorded during a visit to the reserve in November, 1931. The group consists of about 150 individuals of mixed Indian and white blood. Only a few, however, have any knowledge of the language and traditions of the Delaware who once inhabited the section of the country now known as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. To find the identity and location of the predecessors of the band now in question, who migrated to Canada, will be impossible until a comparative study has been made of the various vocabularies.

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I am indebted to Mrs. Martha Peters Hill, Nicholas Powless, his sister, Mrs. Maracle, Joseph Montour, John Lickers, and Walter Moses for aid in securing the Delaware information herein presented.

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In contrast to the ceremonies connected with the various processes of healing as employed by the Oklahoma Delaware, we find only a few traces of such rites among the Delaware of Canada. Plant parts to be used for medicinal purposes should be gathered when the vital properties are in that part of the plant (the flower, root, etc.), to be used. One informant added that plants should be gathered before the fireflies appear. When seeking herbal plants, the first of the desired species should not be plucked. It is customary to pass on to another of the same variety and there dig a small hole beside the plant and in it place an offering of tobacco. If a large quantity of herbs were gathered, they were tied in bundles and allowed to dry in the sun, to prevent mould. Some dried their plants in a warm room.

When bark is used it is taken from the east side of a tree; only the inner bark, which is usually peeled downward, is used. Roots may be scraped or cut into small portions.

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Medicinal plants are regarded as being sensitive to handling, and when brewing medicine, care must be taken to refrain from stirring the mixture while it is steeping. After being thoroughly steeped, the medicine is removed from the fire, and if necessary, stirred only toward the

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL DELAWARE CULTURE FROM CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

Mary W. Herman

INTRODUCTION

Because of the early date at which the east coast tribes came into contact with Europeans and the scarcity of records which in most cases remain from that period, little is known about the culture of those tribes. It is therefore particularly fortunate that several early accounts of Delaware culture have been preserved, making possible a fairly complete and reliable reconstruction of at least one culture from this general area.

Information regarding the culture of the Delaware Indians at the time of contact with European civilizations is limited to records written by Europeans during the seventeenth century, and to a limited extent, those written during the eighteenth century when recollections of earlier days were still reasonably fresh and reliable. The reconstruction of a culture from such sources requires more than a mere compilation of material as there is much of a contradictory and obscure nature contained in the records. The following paper represents a systematization and critical analysis of the material in an effort to present as full and accurate a picture of the culture as the facts allow.

The two most important sources of Delaware ethnography in the early contact period are William Penn and Peter Lindstrom. Lindstrom was born in Stockholm in 1632. He studied at the University of Upsala where he specialized in mathematics and the arts of fortification. He came to the Swedish colony in the New World in 1653 under the unofficial sponsorship of the Swedish government, with the rank of an officer but with no salary. Later he became Engineer and Clerk of Court, and his duties in that position consisted in traveling throughout New Sweden making maps and sketches. In this way, he had excellent opportunities for observing the natives, who were still within close range of the Swedish settlements. Lindstrom left New Sweden in 1655. Although he did not write the Geographia until 1691, its close similarity to the report which he gave to the Swedish Crown shortly after his return has led Amandus Johnson to the opinion that he had made substantial notes at the time he was in this country. His work where it represents the actual observations of the author appears to be completely trustworthy, in spite of the fact that many of his premises and interpretations would be unacceptable today (Lindstrom, introd. by Johnson).

William Penn first arrived in America in 1682. Shortly after his arrival, he made an extensive tour of his dominions and dealt

with the natives, primarily in matters concerned with land sales. It was shortly after his return from this trip that he wrote his "Letter to the Free Society of Traders" (contained in Penn, 1937), which is his most complete sketch of native life. It is probably based on secondhand knowledge as well as that gained directly from the natives, but the information found in it agrees well with that in Lindstrom and other shorter statements of the same period. The book which I have cited contains not only this main source of information but several letters from him which add a few details.

Other sources of seventeenth century Delaware life worthy of mention are Danckaerts, Kalm, Pastorius, and the Swedish writers whose observations have been summarized in Johnson. Danckaerts was in the New World for two years in 1679-80 and left a journal of his travels through Pennsylvania and New York which contains scattered references to Lenape culture. By far the most important observations he made were those concerning Delaware religion and beliefs on cosmology. These observations were based on single interviews with two Indians.

Kalm was sent to America by the Swedish Academy of Sciences in 1747 to discover what plants grown in the New World could be usefully grown in Sweden. He had been a pupil of Carl von Linné and had made scientific trips in Sweden, Finland and Russia prior to this trip (Kalm, 1937, introd. by Benson). His journal, which covers the years 1748-51, is of value primarily for its indications of changes which had already taken place in Lenape culture since contact and for additions to our knowledge of the material culture and foods of the Delaware of an earlier time.

Daniel Pastorius was a lawyer and a Pietist, one of the sects to which Penn had particularly directed his appeal for colonists. In 1683 Pastorius purchased 15,000 acres of land in the present area of Philadelphia as agent for a Frankfort group of Pietists. He arrived in Pennsylvania where he founded and became justice of the peace, schoolmaster and scrivener of Germantown (Myers, 1912, introd. to Pastorius, p. 355). Although he does not appear to have traveled much outside of this area, the Indians made frequent visits to Philadelphia and it appears that he had some first-hand contact with them. Much of his material on the other hand is probably second-hand.

Eighteenth century sources are much more complete than those we have just mentioned and show greater understanding of the inner workings of Delaware culture. This is possible because the Moravian missionaries actually lived among the Indians-in the case of our two best sources, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder for many years.

David Zeisberger was born in Moravia in 1721 of parents associated with the Church of the Bohemian Brethren. His parents fled to Saxony and then America to escape the persecution which this sect was then experiencing. Zeisberger was left in Saxony to complete his education

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but joined his parents in the New World at seventeen. He learned the Mohawk language at a missionary school in Bethelehem and shortly after that began his life with the Indians which, with only short trips to the civilized world, lasted sixty-two years. It should be noted here that Heckewelder, Zeisberger and many of the other Moravian missionaries learned the languages of the Indians with whom they were working. Zeisberger, unlike his fellow missionary John Heckewelder, was not what I would call sympathetic to Indian culture, but by reason of his sincerity and devotion to his religion was very successful among the Delaware and made many staunch friends in the course of his work (Zeisberger, 1910, introd.). His understanding of Delaware religion was perhaps the greatest weakness in his whole work, but even in this aspect of life he could not help but obtain some facts about the outward forms. De Schweinitz's work makes some useful additions to Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians, as he has utilized in addition to that work Zeisberger's correspondence with the mission board, journals and reports of special occurrences.

John Heckewelder was born in 1743 at Bedford, England of a family associated with the Brethren. He was taken to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania at the age of eleven when his father became director of the Moravian colony there. Before he became a missionary in 1771, he had had some experience as a messenger for the society, but had supported himself as a cedar cooper. He was a missionary to the Delaware for fifteen years during the period of the Revolutionary War and the Indian War which followed it (Heckewelder, 1881, introd.). Heckewelder was very partisan to the Delaware and idealized their institutions and history. His statements of fact based on actual observation, however, agree with those of Zeisberger and other observers of the same period.

Loskiel's account of the Delaware and Iroquois is based on the journals kept by all the Moravian missionaries. Since most of these journals are unavailable it has a use in spite of being a secondary source. Its value is lessened by the fact, however, that the great bulk of the material appears to have been taken from Zeisberger's History which is available. One other source of the Moravian missionaries' accounts is that edited by Gipson. This volume contains not only the account of the Moravian mission on White River, but selections from the autobiography of Abraham Luckenbach. The latter is particularly valuable as the writer appears to have been a more objective observer and more concerned with the Indians' culture than most of the other missionaries. His account of the Delaware is limited to the years 1800-1806.

Two missionaries of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (a Scotch organization) have also left some written observations on Delaware life. David Brainerd became a missionary for the society in 1744, working among the heterogeneous Indians of the Forks of the Delaware River and with a congregation of Delaware at Crossweeking, New Jersey (Edwards, 1798). His work is so introspective that it

114 contains few observations on Indian culture, but there are some very
297 good comments on Delaware religion. Since both Zeisberger and Heckewelder neglected this aspect of Delaware culture, Brainerd's really keen insights on this subject are of great value.

Charles Beatty was in contact with the Delaware for only a few weeks when he visited them in Ohio to see whether they would be interested in having a mission established there. This visit to a Delaware town on the Muskingum was made in 1766 and from it we have a good description of the town and the manner in which the council operated (Beatty, 1798).

114 George Brickell and Christian Fast were captives of the Delaware who were made members of families of the tribe. Brickell's account is by far more valuable, giving insight into the division of labor and the manner of rearing children in the late eighteenth century.

Another source of early material culture are the archaeological reports such as those of Abbot, Butler, Heye, and Skinner. Skinner and Harrington have also used the results of archaeology in other of their reports.

For purposes of my reconstruction, the descriptions of Delaware culture by ethnographers were not useable because they had combined material gained from different periods of time. Brinton, the earliest anthropologist to write at length about the Delaware, had other grave faults. In the first place, his conceptions of the universality of certain traits, particularly in the field of religion, led him to ascribe these traits to the Delaware without sufficient evidence. One example of this is his treatment of the Delaware culture hero. Secondly, I have differed with him on several points where the main problem was one of evaluation of the sources. In spite of his unreliability, however, Brinton was of use because he had utilized many old writers whom subsequent students had overlooked or known only through Brinton's writings.

Skinner's work is of value as a consolidation of the most important sources available, but presents a somewhat too generalized picture because he has assumed both that seventeenth and eighteenth Delaware culture and that Delaware and neighboring cultures were essentially the same. Harrington has presented the most complete picture of Delaware culture, but has included many details gained from later writers and his own field research in Oklahoma and Ontario, which cannot be demonstrated to have been part of aboriginal Delaware culture. Speck's published work on the Delaware is almost wholly restricted to the fields of religion and ceremony. His observations on the functioning of Delaware religion, although based largely on later periods, threw much light on the earlier material to which I had restricted myself. The views on the aboriginal social structure in Anthony Wallace's short sketch of

Delaware culture contained in his study of Teedyskung proved particularly stimulating. His analysis of the Walking Purchase controversy is also the best I have found.

In using these documents it was found that when the statements made represented actual observations of the author, they were usually correct and could be checked with other sources. At times the authors specifically mentioned which statements were based on their own experience, and when they did not, this could sometimes be determined by the nature of the fact being related. A lot of the material, on the other hand, probably represents second-hand information. Except for statements which patently represented preconceptions of the author, however, the material gathered from the various sources proved consistent and, in most cases, capable of being checked. In addition to the precautions observed in using the earlier material, special care was taken in the use of these later writers not to assume as aboriginal customs for which there was no evidence in earlier writers.

The entire bibliography has been utilized in the present paper and represents as complete a list of the seventeenth and eighteenth century writings on Delaware ethnography as I have been able to find, but important papers based on the memories of nineteenth and twentieth century reservation Indians have been omitted. The only other work which contains anything like a thorough survey of historical sources on Delaware culture is Regina Flannery's check list of certain traits of coastal Algonkian culture (Flannery, 1939).

The Delaware or Lenape were a large, east coast tribe composed of numerous bands, the names of about twenty-five of which have been preserved. They spoke an Algonkian language related to those of tribes extending north to New England and south to Georgia. Their numbers, which have been estimated at about 8000, spread over a territory bounded on the east coast by Delaware Bay and Manhattan Island, in western Pennsylvania by the Schuykill River, and in New York by the west bank of the Hudson River north to Kingston. In terms of the present states, this territory comprises eastern Pennsylvania, the northern coast of Delaware, all of New Jersey and a small portion of southeastern New York including Staten Island. On their west were the Susquehannock and the Iroquois. Throughout the seventeenth century the Delaware were frequently at war with the Mohawk, Susquehannock and Cherokee. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Delaware had been pushed from their coastal position to the Susquehanna River, and in the subsequent century were driven farther to the west in Pennsylvani, Ohio and Indiana by the expanding white frontier. During this time they continued to support themselves and maintain a society socially and politically separate from that of the European colonies in America. At the end of the eighteenth century, however, they became split into small bands which affiliated with many different tribes in subsequent migrations to the south and west. A large part of the

was possessing the sick person (Danckaerts, p. 180; Lindstrom, p. 247). Possession by an evil spirit was believed to occur either though an accidental encounter with a human spirit or sorcery. The practice of the latter among the Delaware was largely confined to the curing shamans themselves (Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 125, 128, 131; Speck, 1931, p. 109; Brainerd, p. 347).

Sweating was done regularly, but was also considered beneficial in illness. The sweathouse was made of stone and clay with a hole at the top large enough to crawl through. A large number of stones were heated red hot and then put in the center. The bathers lay around them, water was poured on the stones and the hole stopped up. The sweating was followed by a plunge in the nearest stream (Lindstrom pp. 257-258). Penn witnessed a chief using this cure in the midst of winter, when a path had to be cut through the ice between the sweathouse and the river. (Penn, p. 55).

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing, it appears that quite a complete picture of Delaware life at the time of white contact can be reconstructed, based on observations made shortly after contact and supplemented by more complete descriptions of these customs by later observers. The method used in this paper brings out clearly, on the other hand, the fact that there was insufficient recording of the social and political organization of the tribe to permit a reconstruction of those aspects of life with any high degree of probability. By the time the Moravian missionaries came in contact with the Delaware culture, one hundred years had elapsed since initial contact and there is little basis on which to determine whether any trait mentioned by the missionaries represents an old, modified or new situation. This conclusion is in contrast with that of other writers on Delaware culture who have ignored the fact that their material was gathered at widely different times and places.

10. The evidence available on this subject in printed form plus what can be found in deeds has been admirably summarized by Buttenber (p.89ff.).

11. A pre-contact "history" of the Delaware, which is supposed to have been painted originally on sticks was acquired by Rafinesque in 1820. This man was a natural scientist and antiquarian of questionable repute, but the symbols in the document which he brought to light and their translation were pronounced authentic by several modern Delaware to whom it was shown by Brinton. The document, "The Walam Olum", with a translation of the Delaware text into English is reproduced by Brinton (1885).

12. One instance of the operation of this custom took place during the Dutch-Indian wars. The Dutch put a price on the heads of the Raritans, a Delaware band, for supposed offenses against them, but the only immediate result was a revenge murder by a neighboring band for an old injury (O'Callaghan, Vol. I, 1846, p. 240).

The following discussion of capturing two Indians who had murdered a white man also indicates the existence of this custom: "...only the Difficulty was, that there were seven of these Indyans, Men of the same Stock, that if two should be seised, the other five would seek to bee Revenged; soe it was unsafe." (Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey, Vol. I, p. 73).

13. Frank Speck (1931, p. 17): "The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families. The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization." This he feels is verified by its part-for-part resemblance to the Munsee ceremony in Canada, which would indicate that it must have been a national ceremony before 1700 when the groups began to separate.

In my opinion, however, there is not sufficient evidence that the "Annual Ceremony" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries existed in all its complexity in the seventeenth century although most of its parts were probably contained in various different ceremonies which were performed. One important difference between the ceremonies mentioned by Penn and Lindstrom and the "Annual Ceremony" is that in the former the sacrificial meat consisted of the first of the season's kill and in the latter it consisted of game taken on a special communal hunt.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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Lenape, not so much, of course, with regard to the subject matter of the present paper, as of others in preparation. 127

Most of the information was gathered while the writer was collecting ethnological specimens for the Heye Museum of New York, now the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, during the years 1907 to 1910; but some of the Canadian data were procured earlier while in the field for Mr E. T. Tefft of New York, whose collection is now in the American Museum of Natural History. 114

Without knowledgeof the Delaware language in its divergent dialects, and without any pretension of being a philologist, the writer has endeavored to record the Lenape words as he heard them, depending for translation on his interpreter *pro tem.* Hence some inaccuracies at least are inevitable. The alphabet used is as follows: 104

VOWELS	CONSONANTS
a as in arch.	*c* like English sh.
ă as in cat.	' a slight aspirate.
â as in fall.	ⁿ gives the preceding vowel a nasal sound.
aĭ as in aisle.	

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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776 goodness necessarily follows as an attribute of such a deity.

EVIL SPIRIT

The case is different with the Evil Spirit. The modern Lenape in Oklahoma make little mention of an Evil One, and James Wolf, my principal Minsi informant, did not speak of such a being at all, but there is some evidence, however, to show this belief to exist among the Lenape in more recent years.

114 177 776 Some writers do indeed make frequent mention of "the Devil" as figuring in early Lenape belief, but they translate the word "manĭ'to" as having that meaning, whereas it really signifies a supernatural being, good or bad. These writers evidently regarded as "the Devil" any deity not fitting into Christian doctrine.

But the real truth seems to be that, while in ancient times certain *manĭ'towŭk*, or spirits, were supposed to work evil, the Devil (along with whiskey and other blessings) was introduced by the whites.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

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MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
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string around their neck or in a bag. They often bring offerings to it. In their houses of sacrifice they have a head of this idol as large as life put upon a pole in the middle of the room." 776 778

In his Dictionary, Zeisberger gives the word for "idol" as *mĕsink'*, so it seems probable that the *W* in "Wsinkhoalikan" is a misprint for *M*. [114] [104]

MOTHER CORN

One of the important *manĭtowĭk* of the old days was the Corn Goddess, known as "Mother Corn" of whom one of the Unami legends collected by the writer relates that "It was God's will that the Corn Spirit abide in the far heavenly region in the image of an aged woman, with dominion over all vegetation." Although little remembrance of the details of her worship can now be found among the Oklahoma Lenape, she is mentioned as a Guardian Spirit; while at the Minsi ceremonies at Grand River Reserve in Ontario, she was one of the twelve benefactors of mankind to whom the thanks of the people were offered, 776

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
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796x "When the dance is over all the people go out and stand in a single line from east to west with their faces to the south. Then they kneel down and pray, and then go home. We do not know the origin of the worship dance, but the old Indians claim that the Great Spirit came many years ago and instructed it and also gave them the wampum."

•114 796x In spite of several inaccuracies, such as the statement that the people face *south* (instead of east) while praying after the ceremony, this account is valuable on account of the additional data it furnishes on several points of interest, especially the tradition concerning the prophecy of the coming of the whites.

Another Form of the Annual Ceremony

796x It appears that in former years there was, in addition to the rite just described, another form of the Annual Ceremony practised by the Lenape, before their removal to what is now Oklahoma from Kansas, where the last man to "bring in" such a meeting was John Sarcoxie, now dead.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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INTRODUCTION

The consummation of religious fervor of the Delaware Indians, as among many preliterate peoples, is reached in the periodic communal ceremony of the Big House which continued in performance through twelve consecutive nights. The Big House Ceremony was made a subject of study in 1928 and published as a separate volume in a series of monographs by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania.[1] In the annual religious cycle of the Delawares, however, other rites and ceremonies of no less importance, though of shorter duration and with less formal preparation, had their place. A series of these minor performances and rites are to claim attention in the present study. The material was gathered between 1928 and 1932 under an appropriation for publication, as a second volume of Delaware ethnological research, granted by the Historical Commission of Pennsylvania. Aeknowledgment is accordingly made to the Historical Commission for sponsorship in financing the project and releasing the manuscript in 1935.[2]

Among the existing members of the Delaware or Lenape Nation, now dwelling within the confines of the old Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, many of these ancient rituals have continued in practice down to the present day, having been transported with the tribe from its original seats in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some of them are, indeed, mentioned, even described, by early missionary authors who strove so long to abolish them. The opportunity to study the concepts of these age-old ceremonials of a venerable tribe comes as a welcome augment to the all too meagre documentary records of such human achievements in the development of religion at

[1] Frank G. Speck, "A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, in Native Text Dictated by Wi-tapano'xwe." Vol. 2, Historical Commission of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1931. Frequent reference will be made to this study under the abbreviation *Big House Ceremony*.

[2] Correspondence, Miss Frances Dorrance, Director, and Miss Myrtle Keeny, Acting Executive Secretary, Jan. 10-12, 1935.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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121 An explanation is also needed to account for omission in the present study of treatment of the Peyote cult which has invaded the religious complex of the Delawares in Oklahoma. Within the past fifty years a considerable number of families have been converted to this much-discussed, I may say, much-maligned, doctrine of psychophysical therapeutics. The Peyote creed has therefore become an element in the religious life of the tribe. Its history may be simple as an acculturation, but its elements under modification in the minds of its Delaware converts with their old spiritual system in the background remains a subject for research. This has been undertaken by Dr. V. M. Petrullo and the results have become available in his dissertation.[4]

000 In carrying out the purpose of studies projected among the various bands of the Delaware Nation in Oklahoma and Ontario, several sources of coöperation deserve mention, namely that afforded me by Dr. George G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, New York, in securing specimens to illustrate the performances; by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, and several private collectors, Mr. S. W. Pennypacker II, Mr. Robert Riggs and Mr. Earl Horter of Philadelphia. A collection of articles illustrating Delaware religion in ethnology is also on loan exhibition by the writer in the rooms of the Delaware County Institute of Science, Media, Pennsylvania. To Miss D. M. Spencer, Dr. H. Wieschhoff and Mr. L. C. Eiseley I am indebted for cooperative aid.

[122] The Committee of the Faculty Research Fund, University of Pennsylvania, has awarded several grants, gratefully acknowledged, for field work in Delaware-Munsee religion among the bands resident in Ontario.

To Mr. Frank T. Siebert, Jr., University of Pennsylvania, I am also indebted for valued assistance in checking over the texts and translations, and my discussions of rites and tales, with his field notes.

● 114 Before proceeding to the subject matter of my study, one more comment upon the character of ancient documentary

[4] V. M. Petrullo, "The Diabolic Root, A Study of Peyotism, the New Indian Religion Among the Delawares." University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1934, pp. 1-185.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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sources dealing with native life and customs as compared in value with living sources available today among the Indians themselves. There is in the minds of many students of history and ethnology a deep-seated feeling that in all cases of discrepancy of statement and interpretation modern sources are universally less reliable, through the assumption that the old writers were not only explicit and that they saw things correctly but that they observed native behavior at a time when foreign elements had not been incorporated into their ceremonies. The inference is, of course, often true, but the following case speaks for itself much to the contrary, and since it pertains intimately to Delaware religious festivals is worthy of notice here. Historians, indeed, treating the colonial period, with the Indians still in their natural background, seldom fail to applaud those efforts of contemporary writers as being the best fruits of observation, often the only ones to be relied upon when a conflict of authority on some phase of native belief arises between early published testimony and that of the present-day natives. The example in question, quoted below from a seventeenth century source answers for itself. The account, consisting of one page of matter is clearly a reference to the twelve-night Big House celebration recorded in the volume devoted to this ceremony.[1] In the passage there are nine correct observations and nine erroneous statements and misconceptions as we check them off against the full account. Thus, it seems one early documentary source of control over the facts involved in historical ethnology dealing with the Big House Ceremony fails in the test to stand as valid testimony in the face of modern investigation. This will serve to vindicate in the eyes of the sceptic the character of Indian informants on the subject of their rites and beliefs.

"For their worship which is diabolical, it is performed usually but once or twice a year, unless upon some extraordinary occasion, as upon making of War or the like; their usual time is about Michaelmass, when their corn is first ripe, the day being appointed by their chief Priest or pawaw; most of them go hunting for venison; When they are all congregated, their priest tells them, if he wants money, their God will accept no other offering, which the people believing, every one gives money ac-

[1] See footnote 1, page 3.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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114 cording to their ability. The priest takes the money, and putting it into some dishes, sets them upon the top of their low flat-roofed houses, and falls to invocating their God to come and receive it, which with many loud hallows, and outeries, knocking the ground with sticks, and beating themselves, is performed by the priest, and seconded by the people.

"After they have thus a while wearied themselves, the priest by his Conjuration brings in a devil amongst them, in the shape sometimes of a fowl, sometimes of a beast, and sometimes of a man, at which the people being amazed, not daring to stir, he improves the opportunity, steps out and makes sure of the money, and then returns to lay the spirit, who in the meantime is sometimes gone, and takes some of the Company along with him; but if any English at such times do come amongst them, it puts a period to their proceedings, and they will desire their absence, telling them their God will not come whilst they are there."[6]

Something may be deduced from the preceding since the purpose of an introduction is, among other aims, to anticipate some questions of history and interpretation of the material offered. I had previously expressed some conviction, after pondering on the various possibilities of how to classify the individual family feasts of the Delawares in relation to the Big House Ceremony, that integration had probably taken place.[7] In short, that the family religious observances were fundamental in respect to age and pattern and that, in the course of sacred history, perhaps indeed upon the event of some catastrophe of nature as Delaware tradition makes out, the Big House Ceremony came into conception and was established as an outcome of the crisis. The foregoing quotations and discussions should therefore be considered as evidence on the point.

Zeisberger over a century ago likewise wrote in general terms of Delaware ceremonies. His description is worth quoting. The wording, however, does not permit of specific classification of the particular ceremony he had in mind in his description. Part of it may cover the procedure of the Big House Ceremony while much of it could also apply to other rites, such as the Grease Drinking feasts, the patterns of which appear in his description. It either means that the ceremonial elements have undergone change in the evolution of Delaware

[6] "Denton's Description of New York formerly New Netherlands," 1670.
[7] "The Big House Ceremony," pp. 16–17.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ceremony since his time, or that his version of ceremonial conduct, in which the elements of several festivals seem comprised, was due to indifference to the value of detail which we now require in such fields of investigation.

"Preparations for such a sacrificial feast extend through several days. The requisite number of deer and bears is calculated and the young people are sent into the woods to procure them together with the leader whose care it is to see that everything needful is provided. These hunters do not return until they have secured the amount of booty counted upon. On their return they fire a volley when near the town, march in in solemn procession and deposit the flesh in the house of sacrifice. Meantime the house has been cleared and prepared. The women have prepared fire-wood and brought in long dry reed grass, which has been strewn the entire length of the house, on both sides, for the guests to sit upon. Such a feast may continue for three or four nights, the separate sessions beginning in the afternoon and lasting until the next morning. Great kettles full of meat are boiled and bread is baked. These are served to the guests by four servants especially appointed for this service. The rule is that whatever is thus brought as a sacrifice must be eaten altogether and nothing left. A small quantity of melted fat only is poured into the fire.[8] The bones are burnt, so that the dogs may not get any of them. After the meal the men and women dance, every rule of decency being observed. It is not a dance for pleasure or exercise, as is the ordinary dance engaged in by the Indians. One singer only performs during the dance, walking up and down, rattling a small tortoise shell filled with pebbles. He sings of the dreams the Indians have had, naming all the animals, elements and plants they hold to be spirits. None of the spirits of things that are useful to the Indians may be omitted. By worshipping all the spirits named they consider themselves to be worshipping God, who has revealed his will to them in dreams. When the first singer has finished he is followed by another. Between dances the guests may stop to eat again. There are four or five kinds of feasts, the ceremonies of which differ much from one another."[9]

We may now consider the outlines of a pattern representing the Delaware ritual system. Enough material is at our disposal to suggest marking out the dominant traits of ceremonial form in the Oklahoma division of the Nation in the following sketch.

[8] This is remembered but no longer practiced.

[9] David Zeisberger, "History of the Northern American Indians." Ed. by A. B. Hulbert and W. N. Schwarze, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, n.d., p. 137.

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This motive would be insufficient, even a sacrilege. The spiritual preparation of its participants was made a matter of prime importance and the purity of those concerned in it was to be insisted upon. Joe Washington has since felt that these serious injunctions were of so drastic a character that until the present time they could not be complied with. It seems, therefore, that there is little prospect for anything more than a dictated version to be obtained, which will have to await necessary support for its accomplishment.

Upon the occasion of my expedition to the Delawares in Oklahoma some time was spent in interviews with Tom Half Moon [1] who had had experience as an attendant, or *a'ckas*, of the Big House Ceremony as performed in recent years by his group, the Turkey group. The notes offered are, therefore, advantageous in respect to the details furnished by one who had the teachings directly from those who were responsible for its proper conduct. These notes should accordingly serve as a supplement to that section of the ceremony published in the Big House Ceremony volume dealing with the duties of the attendants. They are in effect as follows:

The attendants who sweep the White Path, or the path around which the dancers proceed when performing in the Big House after each dance, do so with turkey wings, using only the left hand in holding the fans, since the left hand is the holy hand, the right the unholy. The male attendants start sweeping at opposite ends from the women. When they have swept the dancing path twelve times they have cleared away the obstacles of an unfavorable spiritual nature lying between the worshippers and the Great Spirit. As was noted in the published account, the attendants each receive a yard of wampum at the end of the ceremony. He also noted that those who attended the ceremony received two wampum beads each to be kept by them as tokens of good fortune until the next performance. These beads were, he added, held in the mouth as sacred objects when the members went outside

[1] His Delaware title-name is *Axkwe'lpəɔŋgo'sxe*, "Overturns Mountains when Walking," a member of the Turkey group.

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796 times they failed trying with all their might to make fire with the fire drill one after another and had to resort to making it with flint and steel. He attributed such failure to the attendants having violated the rules of continence during the [331] Big House period. He himself felt that it was becoming more and more difficult for the Delawares to perform the ceremony on account of increasing moral laxity among the people.

Anderson corroborated the tradition of the earthquake and associated physical disturbances as accounting for the cause of the Delawares instituting the Big House Ceremony. He added that there was a tradition of falling stars occurring during the disturbance and also a tornado.[4] Anderson expressed the feeling of the Delawares that the performance of the Big House Ceremony was intended to avert physical catastrophes, saying that upon several occasions in the past the ceremony had been performed after a tornado in the country to preserve the people from another such visitation of anger on the part of the Creator.

It might be expected that the performance of the Big House Ceremony when sponsored by the Tortoise ceremonial group would differ in some of its particulars from what we have previously recorded. This investigation will undoubtedly have to be considered and it will be possible to do so should the Big House Ceremony ever be repeated by Frank Wilson who is a member of the Tortoise group.

Among the notes of information which Anderson made to extend our knowledge of details of the Big House Ceremony, [114] he called attention to an error in the color plate illustrating the interior of the Big House while one of the dances of vision recitation was in progress, in Harrington's monograph on Delaware ceremonies (*op. cit.* Pl. 6). The color plate shows the people in the Big House seated while the dance and recitation are going on. Anderson pointed out that the audience should be shown standing during the dance-recitation.

[4] *Gau'zas*, "whirlwind, tornado." Smaller gusts of whirling wind without the character of the preceding are called *ewi'alaz'o·u* in Delaware.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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III. ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE CULTURE

THE PROJECT

The purpose of this study of the Delaware was to assemble and analyze data on the culture of the tribe from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why.

The method used to assemble these data in comparable form was determined by the nature and scope of that portion of the material that pointed the way for such a study. For an understanding of the boundaries of this study an explanation of the provenience of this material is in order.

From 1813 to 1831 Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan Territory and *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs for the region. His interest in the Indians as individuals and as bearers of a dying culture led him to circulate in 1821 a pamphlet entitled *Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Indians, Living within the United States*,[1] containing approximately four hundred questions with word lists in addition. A short time later another pamphlet entitled *Additional Inquiries respecting the Indian Languages*[2] was issued which emphasized the interest Cass had in language. In 1823, both pamphlets were reprinted and bound together with continuous paging.[3]

The queries were widely distributed among Indian agents, traders, and others who might be able to furnish information on specific tribes. Some of the recipients were dismayed by the number of questions, and, feeling that they did not have the fund of knowledge necessary to answer them, returned the pamphlets. Nevertheless, numerous answers were received by Cass, but they were, Cass reported to Schoolcraft in 1823, "more valuable for quantity than quality."[4] Cass planned on using the material so

[1] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1821. 30 pp.
[2] 32 pp. No date or place of publication is given.
[3] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1823. 64 pp.
[4] See letter of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to Cass, November 22, 1823, The National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency Letterbook, No. 2, 1823, p. 265.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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collected in making an extensive report to the War Department, at that time in charge of Indian affairs. Disappointed in many of the answers returned but determined to pursue his inquiries, Cass requested permission of John C. Calhoun, the secretary of war, to employ an extra person at an interpreter's compensation to be sent to different Indian villages for the purpose of investigating their life and to carry out other useful duties.[1] On May 31, 1823, Calhoun granted permission and on June 20, 1823, Cass informed Calhoun that he had appointed Charles C. Trowbridge to fill the office.[2]

Trowbridge had already worked with the list of queries among the Chippewa. The summer and fall of 1823 were devoted to work among the Menomini and Winnebago. About the first of December he was sent to see William Conner on the White River, in Indiana, to collect information on the language of the Delaware. William Conner was apparently the principal informant and a very able one in compiling the 284-page Delaware grammar.[3] He had been brought up among the Delaware, married a daughter of Chief Anderson, and, besides trading with members of the tribe for many years, had served as interpreter in many treaty negotiations. His services to Trowbridge were supplemented by those of Captain Pipe, a Delaware who was sent from Sandusky for the purpose. The extent of Pipe's participation in compiling the grammar is unknown, but he was principally responsible for the ethnographic information Trowbridge recorded in a thirty-seven-page manuscript.[4] Pipe was at Conner's farm only ten days of the three months that Trow-

[1] Carter, Clarence E. (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Volume XI. *The Territory of Michigan, 1820-1829* (Washington, D. C., 1943), p. 363.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 363n.

[3] Two copies of the Delaware grammar were lent to the University of Michigan by Sydney T. Miller and his daughter Mrs. Thomas B. Byrd.

[4] Two copies of this manuscript were lent to the University of Michigan by Mr. Miller and Mrs. Byrd, one bearing the title, "Traditions of the Lenĕĕ Lənâpee or Delawares," and the other, "Account of some of the Traditions, Manners and Customs of the Lenĕĕ Lənâpəa or Delaware Indians." These are deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections, Rackham Building, University of Michigan.

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bridge was there. After the Delaware study Trowbridge collected several other sets of answers: two on the Shawnee,[1] one each on the Miami,[2] Kickapoo, and Wyandot, and another on the Delaware with Cass. 114

This extended notice of Trowbridge's activities is given because it is principally his manuscripts and others that fell into his hands that have been preserved. After Trowbridge resigned in 1825 Cass obtained funds and permission to hire three or four persons to carry on his work. Who these persons were or what they accomplished we do not know.

Previous to Trowbridge's visit to William Conner, John Johnston, Indian agent at Piqua, Ohio, sent Cass an answer on the Shawnee in his own handwriting and one on the Delaware, not in his own hand.[3] A series of answers on the Delaware found among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection has been tentatively identified as the one submitted by Johnston.[4] Identification of the author will probably never be determined as Johnston did not name the person who compiled the answers he transmitted.

While at Detroit in 1824 Trowbridge and Cass alternated in recording the answers of a Canadian Delaware or Munsee named Captain Chipps. This manuscript of seventy-two pages in the handwriting of Cass and Trowbridge is also among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection and, in addition, a partial copy in Trowbridge's hand is bound together with a third copy of Pipe's relation.

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[1] See Kinietz, Vernon, and Voegelin, Erminie W. (eds.), *Shawnese Traditions. C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 9, Ann Arbor, 1939).

[2] See Kinietz, Vernon (ed.), *Meearmeaar Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 7, Ann Arbor, 1938).

[3] Johnston to Cass, May 10, 1822, The National Archives, Indian Office, Michigan Superintendency, Letterbook, No. 1, 1822, pp. 208-13.

[4] This bears the title, "Answers to the questions proposed in the Pamphlet, By the Delawares and Munsies." On the back of the manuscript in Trowbridge's handwriting is the following endorsement, "Lenêê Lenâpaa Traditions &c." 115

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114 128 These three relations on the Delaware, hereafter denoted by the names John Johnston, Captain Pipe and Captain Chippa, were analyzed according to the questions they answered and transcribed into an element list in terms of the information they contained. The list was designed so that the information of each account could be tabulated and the presence or absence of a trait be indicated by a symbol such as a plus or a minus in columns headed by the name of the source.

This table was then expanded to include information derived from five sources which preceded these three in point of time. In the first three columns the information from Roger Williams, Adriaen Van der Donck, and Peter Lindeström appears, in that order.[11] Only the last one of these accounts definitely relates to the Delaware. The other two are given as early accounts of tribes neighbor to the Delaware which may reflect the contemporary conditions among them as well, particularly the account of Van der Donck who included the Delaware River within the boundaries of New Netherlands. Williams' account was published in 1643, Van der Donck's was republished in 1656, and probably written about 1653, and Lindeström's account was written by him from notes made from 1654 to 1656.

In the fourth and fifth columns the information of Zeisberger and Heckewelder as contained in their published accounts is presented.[12]

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[11] Williams, Roger, "A Key into the Language of America . . . Together with Brief Observations of the Customes, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the Aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death . . . ," in Rhode Island Historical Society, *Collections*, I(1827), 17-163; Van der Donck, Adriaen, "A Description of the New Netherlands . . . ," in New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 2 series, I(1841), 129-242; Johnson, Amandus (ed. and trans.), *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656 by Peter Lindeström* . . . (The Swedish Colonial Society, Philadelphia, 1925).

[12] Hulbert, Archer B., and Schwarze, William N. (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XIX(1910), 1-189; Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* . . . (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, XII, Philadelphia, 1876).

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After these historical accounts information on the same points obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furth -more, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts were used were:

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan.

W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

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114 126 128 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

821 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the [177] cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

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The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period.

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits.

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

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121 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their
128 ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

121 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by
128 sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an
177 understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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These changes are distributed in the various periods as follows: 15 in the second, 14 in the third, and 36 in the fourth. When these are broken down according to the type of change, that is, technological, sociological, and spiritual, the results are indecisive. This is largely due to the small number of elements and their selective nature. Another factor that distorts the picture is the length of time necessary for the completion of some of the changes. Several elements show that two or three periods were required for the complete acceptance of a change.

It has already been mentioned that this element list is the result of the questionnaire written by Cass in 1821. I repeat it because inherent in the questions is the realization that the culture of the Indians had then changed considerably. Consequently many of the changes that had taken place prior to 1821 are not represented. The most important or at least the most numerous items ignored are the tools, utensils, and other articles of everyday use. Articles of this nature of native manufacture were the first things to be superseded by those of European manufacture. The material culture of the Indians was drastically changed by the first of our periods. This fact should be borne in mind when one considers the changes that occurred in the later periods. Another important factor is the larger number of elements covered by the reports of the later periods. The third and fourth periods deal with over twice as many elements as the first. Proper allowance for this condition for the purpose of comparison would be to halve the fourth-period changes. If this is done, the changes for each period are remarkably uniform: 15, 14, and 18.

Now if we recall the different types of contact outlined earlier for the history of the Delaware, we find little variation in the amount of change for each type. In the period before 1750 when contact was between communities of whites and Delaware, there was presumably a great change in material culture. Between 1750 and 1850 the whites with whom the Delaware had contact were mostly traders and missionaries. Increasing emigrant trains and white settlers in the neighborhood of their Kansas reservation created so much trouble that in 1867 the Delaware sold their

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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796 comprising the Delaware Nation is evident from all sources. That it
174 ruled the spiritual destinies of the Munsee, the Nantieoke, the Mahikan,
171 we know through collateral evidence, and analogous rites are inferred to have existed among the Mohegan on the east, the Powhatan peoples of Virginia and the Algonkian of the Carolina coast. Testimony from modern sources also points to a related performance of equal prominence in the religious behavior of the Shawnee. It would be an oversight besides, not to make reference to certain indications in the recorded discussions of Iroquois and Central Algonkian religion, of periodic ceremonies whose fundamental concepts form more or less a unit with those of the nation we are considering. Such a widely spread doctrine with associated rites of a unitary character assure us of the existence in aboriginal times of a culture-center, as regards creed, among the peoples of the Allegheny forest area, not only among the widely scattered Algonkian-speaking peoples but among others whose early history has been linked by some vague channels with them,
796 for instance the Muskogi and the Yuchi. If it is not going too far, I
174 would venture to repeat the assertion, often made by students of human culture, that the religious concepts of preliterate people express the keynote of their cultural status, that the same are to be regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not? This assumption, as we shall see, holds true with amazing consistency in the native civilization of the Delawares. While the pre-
● 114 viously recorded accounts of Delaware ceremonies, some of them explicit in detail and accuracy, have supplied occasional material for comparative and analytical studies in the ethnology of the eastern Indians, a feeling of dissatisfaction exists in regard to their content. This has been sufficient to cause hesitation on the part of ethnologists in using the records for the purpose of drawing culture conclusions since the accounts have all been fragmentary and recorded in the words of European observers instead of being based upon the expressions of the natives.[1] To have such records made in the words, and with the order and detail of thought of the people themselves is the highest ideal of the student of human institutions, an ideal now set up as the goal of endeavor in research. Accordingly when fate was moved
124 to provide me with a native Delaware informant in the person of
115 Wi·tapano'xwe, a Delaware whose early training, at the knees of his mother, was of the native, non-Christian type, I need hardly say that I laid aside every postponable obligation to devote attention to the

[1] More recently we have been bequeathed the excellent studies of eastern Indian ceremonies in native text by students who have recorded them from the dictation of the Indians, such as Hewitt, Jones, Michelson and Bloomfield.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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deep religious feeling. And such expressions as "pitifulness," "spiritual yearning," "conviction of unworthiness," "earnestness of mind" are met with to found a still deeper impression of the term-formality in what would constitute a true religious vocabulary. We should also bear in mind that these are the familiar expressions of the professors of paganism, who have carried over their spiritual terminology from the ancient paganism of their ancestors. These terms are not borrowings from the tongues of Delaware converts to Christianity; for the terms adopted by the latter have been refused admission into the Pagan religious glossary.[1]

There is, indeed, much to attest an almost classical form of diction in the sacred phraseology; clear evidence of the organized position which Delaware holds in the scheme of Algonkian thought and semantics.[2] While the earlier sources found in the writings of missionaries deal sketchily with the phenomena of Delaware religion it is evident that their authors were incapable of gaining an insight into the spirit of native Delaware worship through two obstacles of considerable importance. First, their religious conviction would be sufficient to prevent them from inquiring sympathetically into the pagan doctrines involved, while the second consideration, namely, the esoterism of the pagan worshippers themselves, would in those days have been a barrier to the admission of outsiders into the Big House. We can catch glimpses however in the descriptions of the missionary authors dealing with what were to their eyes hideous practices of superstition or deviltry, of performances which coincide with some fundamental elements of the greater ceremonies.[3]

Were it not for the study of Delaware institutions made by Harrington over a period of some years, and published in several papers and

[1] The discrimination between religious denotations used by the pagans and the Christians is illustrated in the term denoting the soul, lən-apeɔ'k-an approximately "human substance" among the pagans, tel-'tcaŋg among the Christian Delawares. While the latter term has wide analogies in cognates among practically all the Algonkian-speaking tribes its use has been expunged among the pagan element of the tribe, or at any rate avoided, because of its adoption into the phraseology of the missionaries and converts.

[2] A striking example of Delaware synthetic verbal construction in dignified discourse is the following which seems worthy of consideration, ewil. pl. "pəndawənaniŋga ki·kayo'yəmənani'gga ə'n·da we·'l·taxkənotəmixti·t[e] . . . . "for so we have heard the deceased, our ancient deceased people of the past, when they were explaining the many things . . . ." (See page 115).

[3] Zeisberger op. cit., pp. 127-140; Heckewelder, op. cit., pp. 206-214, 230-248.

The short description of the Annual Ceremony written over the signature of R. C. Adams (Notes on the Delaware Indians. Report on Indians Taxed and Not Taxed. U. S. Census, 1800, p. 299) should also be considered, as well as the volumes by Dr. Brinton, largely secondary sources, which will be referred to by Roman numerals in my study when occasion requires quotation from them.

I. D. G. Brinton. The Lenape and Their Legends, Phila. 1885.

II. D. G. Brinton and A. S. Anthony. A Lenape'-English Dictionary, Historical Society of Pa. 1888.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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114 memoirs, our knowledge of the organized religious institutions of the tribe would at the present time be a blank. His contributions, accurate and trustworthy, should be consulted in connection with my study.[1]

Mr. Harrington who, between 1907 and 1910 made collections of ethnological specimens for the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation), incidentally devoted attention to a wide range of topics in the culture of both the Delaware and the Munsee. Aside from the publications mentioned he has manuscript material which has not yet appeared in print. On the whole our studies, as independent sources, coincide in content upon the points which are dealt with in common. I 114 have, however, deviated from his precedent in several details. His use 101 of the term Lenapé, which is the term the Delawares employ in referring to themselves,[2] I have discarded as a proper name for the people, preferring the term Delaware. Another matter which I have regarded in a different light is Harrington's use of the designation Unami for the Delaware proper throughout his publications for reasons of "convenience."[3] This name is not generally recognized in the tribe, there being many, including Wi·tapano'xwe, who had not heard of it until the question of its bearing had been raised. Upon the occasion of his return to his tribe in 1929, however, he inquired for particulars and learned from some older people of Munsee extraction that the eponym Unami was a Munsee term applied to the Delawares before the removal

[1] The titles of Harrington's reports on the tribe, which have come to my notice, are as follows in the order of their importance. In referring to them I shall use the Roman numbers affixed to them.

I. Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) 1921.

II. A Preliminary Sketch of Lenape Culture. American Anthropologist, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1913.

III. Vestiges of Material Culture among the Canadian Delawares, Ibid. Vol. X, No. 3, 1908.

IV. Some Customs of the Delaware Indians, Journal of the Museum, Univ. of Pa., Vol. 1, No. 3.

[2] Lən·a'pe denotes "common, human, ordinary man," in short "bourgeois." Heckewelder adds the meaning of "pure, unmixed" to the element, and also conceives it to have the sense of "original," in support of which he gives some satisfactory evidence (Heckewelder, pp. 401-2). Its use as a proper tribal name has a long antecedent. Heckewelder (op. cit., p. xii) remembered when the Delawares thought that the whites had given them the name Delaware in derision, though he says, they became reconciled to it on being told that it was the name of a great man, Lord de la War, which had been given to them and their river. As they were fond of being named after distinguished men they were pleased, considering it as a compliment. (cp. also Zeisberger, p. 145). The same author in discussing the appellation Lenape, which he says signifies "original people" from Lenni Lenape, adheres to the proper name Delaware in his work. Passing mention seems called for of a far-fetched attempt on the part of Zeisberger to extort an origin for the name Delaware from a native verb (Zeisberger p. 114) to which he himself, however, gave little weight. From lən·a'pe has developed an interesting abstraction; lən·a'pe·ɔ'k·an "Delaware, or human, soul," in the sense of meaning the principles of Delaware cultural life, as does also the synonym endalau'si·engw, "our manner of life," a commonly recognized term.

[3] Harrington I, p. 124.

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of the combined tribes from Kansas about 1867. While the Delawares in Oklahoma are undoubtedly of the Unami division, as it was called by the Munsee, I have decided against the use of an alien term as a name for them. It is worth noting, at this point, as a possible aid to a future student of Delaware ethnography that Zeisberger employed the term "Unami Tribe" to designate that division of the people "which lived nearest to the sea."[1]

The Delawares of Colonial times were described as including three affiliated nations; besides the "Unami," just alluded to, the Munsee, and the so-called Unalachtigo. Whereas the Munsee had from the early period continued to exist as a group under their own name, separately from the Delawares both in Canada and the United States, and the "Unami" have been identified with the main body of the Delawares, we are not so fortunate with respect to the fate and identity of the Unalachtigo. While I am not urged to discuss the probability in full, it seems to me that evidence stands in favor of the conclusion that the people called Unalachtigo, whose identity has puzzled most of the writers applying themselves to Delaware ethnographical problems, are none other than the "Naraticons" of southern New Jersey under the guise of a dialectic name.

The Naraticons, to begin with, are given a prominent position as occupying an extensive territory in southern New Jersey. There is, in addition, a village called Naraticonk given a location on the Jersey side of the Delaware River opposite "Fort Cristina" near the mouth of a creek of the same name, now transformed into Raccoon Creek. These locations are given in a map of the region referring to a period about 1655.[2]

Acrelius (1759) also mentions "Narraticon's or Raccon's Kihl."[3] Lindeström (1656) and DeLaet (1633) mention the same name and place.[4] Brinton[5] produces further evidence on the name and says that the Unalachtigo (properly W'nalachtko for which he offers the meaning, "people who live near the ocean," from wunalawat,[6] "to go towards," and t'kow or t'kŏu, "wave"). He believed that this geographical division had its seat on the affluents of the Delaware, near Wilmington. Brinton moreover, refers to Lindstrom and Vander

[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 114.
[2] Map of N. J. Visscher, in New York Public Library, reproduced in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware (1630-1707) Edited by Albert Cook Myers, N. Y. (1912). For a series of local native place names of this district see also the record of the Court at Upland, Pa., 1676-81, Pub. Hist. Soc. of Pa. 1860, and Peter Lindeström (1654-6), Geographia Americae, with an account of the Delaware Indians. Ed. by Amandus Johnson, Swedish Colonial Society, Phila., 1925; and Amandus Johnson, The Swedish Settlements in Delaware, 1638-64, N. Y. 1911.
[3] Rev. I. Acrelius' account of Swedish churches in New Sweden. Albert Cook Myers, op. cit. p. 66.
[4] De Laet (1633) N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 2nd, S. I., p. 303 (1843).
[5] Brinton, L., pp. 36-7.
[6] Delaware, na'wolast', "to follow."

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619 Donck locating the Naraticons as the southermost tribe in New Jersey
101 on Raccoon Creek, and adds the supposition that Naraticon, "is simply a translation of the Delaware nachenum,[1] raccoon." Evidence seems sufficiently strong to assign a location in southern New Jersey for a branch of the Delawares called Naraticons. We may, however disregard Brinton's attempt to explain the term, in favor of an attempt based upon this interesting term coming from native sources. The prominence of the name Naraticon on the map referred to and the extent of territory would seem to accord with its position as one of the three tribal constituents of the old Delaware nation. The term itself has interesting possibilties under analysis. In Delaware its correspondent nala'tᵉkaŋg, "up stream where they live," (abbreviation of nalaha'təkaŋg, compare also nahi'təkaŋg, "down stream where they live."

Harrington thought that the "Unala'tko" had lost their identity and merged with the Delawares in Oklahoma, since he was unable to locate survivors there under the name.[2] Heckewelder[3] refers to the Unami and Unalachtigo as the divisions of the Delawares that settled nearest to the sea. This author is responsible for recording the information that created the discussion arising since his time over "totemic affiliations" of the three geographical subdivisions of the Delawares with the Tortoise (Unami) Turkey (Unalachtigo) and Wolf (Munsee).

To the Delawares the Nanticoke are known as Wone'tᵉko (plural wone'tᵉkowak).[4] Some families of them migrated westward with the Delawares and kept up a distinctive form of burial as well as their language until about 1875. No information through living sources or printed records discloses testimony to indicate that this tribe performed the Big House ceremony. The informant had, however, heard the older Delawares in Oklahoma discuss the question of Nanticoke participation in the Big House. It is known that the Nanticoke performed in company with them, but it was not thought that the Nanticoke themselves had ever had the full ceremony.

796 Zeisberger has treated the ceremonies of the Delawares of his day
114 in a section covering some five pages of his book.[5] It would seem, however, if his narration is an accurate one and if his descriptions of the six or seven separate ceremonies were correctly observed and so separated in the religious practices of the tribe, that composition has taken place since his time. For the independent "feasts" which he describes are recognizable parts of the Big House ceremony and ritual of subsequent times. This nevertheless is an inference which further

[1] Brinton I, op. cit. p. 42.
[2] Harrington I, pp. 13, 124-5, and II, pp. 208-9.
[3] Heckewelder op. cit. pp. 51-3 and 250.
[4] The meaning of the term in Delaware is obscure.
[5] Zeisberger, pp. 136-141.

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information may alter. We can not be certain whether his integration of the rites was an actual condition holding true for the ceremony of the period, or one resulting from his style of writing down what he remembered of native customs after some years of retirement from the Indian country. The procedures followed by the Delawares in the four or five "feasts" he describes for us are all embraced within the Big House performance as we know it later. And, rather than discredit the force of living evidence based on the rites as performed by the Nation now, I would prefer to correct the information recorded by the observant but unsympathetic missionary. For, indeed, the ceremony shows itself to have a complex capitalization, its ritual extending through every form of worship, including individual, family or "clan rites," that we have mention of in any of the Delaware accounts. The Big House capitulates the elements of certain minor feast ceremonies held on special occasions by families.[1] The great annual ceremony seems to stand as an entity, one that does not submit to any assumption of recent origin in its present form of organization. Through the close resemblance it shows, element by element, with the Munsee corresponding ceremony, the two tribes were apparently performing it as a national religious institution before 1700, when they separated in the east, one division to go westward, the other to Canada. So it also seemed to Harrington.[2]

Unfortunately Heckewelder, who knew the Delawares so intimately, declined in his book to treat the topic of ceremonies, referring the matter to the previous narratives of Loskiel, whose knowledge we know was not gained from intimate contact with the tribe.

Reverting to consideration of the fate of the Big House in the succession of moves which the Delawares made in their two-century traverse from New Jersey to Oklahoma, we can only trace definite memory of the "temple" and ceremony to the final period of the tribe's residence in Kansas from about 1867 on. While in Kansas the Big House was located some five or six miles east of Lawrence.

The informant gave the following facts concerning the reconstruction of the building and the rehabilitation of the ceremony after the tribe had settled down to residence in its present seat in northern Oklahoma.

"In the Cherokee country the Big House of Little Caney River was reorganized by men of the Yellow Tree or poplar band. Three men were pa"'man·axgu'xwe, ne'ni'pai, and chalu'xolo'nd, whose names in order mean "Man Moving Around," "The One Who Stands," "Man

[1] Throughout the year there is a series of local feasts, some esoteric family ceremonies apart from the communal Big House worship. These are being studied in text and prepared for presentation in a separate memoir.

[2] I am drawing this inference of basic unity in fundamentals of the Munsee and Delaware forms of worship upon the conclusion reached by Harrington, pp. 196-197), after he had studied the Munsee rite.

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end pierces the sky extending to the throne of the Great Spirit, whose right hand is resting on top of it as a staff to hold a great power given to the red man. All other Indian worship is a branch of this belief. When the rules are faithfully carried out in accordance with the ways of the primitive Delawares, it governs even the religion of our white brothers, perpetuating happiness, health, and prosperity among all nations the world over. In regard to the center post which is said to link the Creator with his chosen people; it is considered a very important feature of the religion. There should be a special authority to explain the significance of the center post in order that its real value in the Indian world be brought out. This being done the other Indian nations would be able to understand this great worship which now only the Delawares know."

A word or two of comment on my own estimate of the character of Delaware religion may not be amiss. If the student of the religious systems of pre-literate peoples feels inclined to disparage the quality of thought and the symbolism of the rituals of other North American forms of worship, I imagine that his objections, on the basis perhaps of their fetishistic traits and their lack of spiritual refinement, would be removed in weighing the qualities of Delaware concepts and acts of reverence toward the powers beyond. Close attention during the two years of study to the intricacies of the Delaware doctrines has impressed me with the conviction that we have here a real religion in a simple form. Inculcated in its followers are virtues (we'lhik) that no one would question as being of an ennobling nature, for instance humility of spirit and conduct,[1] dependence[2] upon the benevolence of the spirit forces, gratitude[3] for the blessings they bestow, supplication[4] for the continuation of blessings, the exemplariness of "clean" sincere behavior toward man and spirit,[5] altruism,[6] consideration of the afflicted and the aged,[7] the apostrophe against violence and war,[8] the value of concentrated spiritual unity in worship, the assumed dignity and barbaric grandeur[9] of the rites, and in particular the endeavor to insure and promote human health and welfare[10] irrespective of tribe or race. All are well worthy it would seem of respectful consideration, to which should be added that the procedures of the paramount

[1] tamak-e'lendamowa'k-an, "pitifulness in attitude."
[2] ligo'ndowak-an.
[3] owe'lendamowa'k-an, "thankful satisfaction of mind."
[4] mas'mendowa'k-an, "earnest pleading."
[5] pi'tsowa'k-an.
[6] lape'mkwus-l-n "act of making oneself useful."
[7] wi'mbendowa'k-an, "sympathy."
[8] wolangosowa'k-an, "peacefulness." (aspalo'tamowak-an)
[9] woli'nak'sowa'k-an, "fine appearance."
[10] kwe'namowa'k-an, "universal blessedness."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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771 ceremony are framed in richly symbolical acts, impressive to the civ-
114 ilized as well as the uncivilized observer, participated in equally by the congregation of worshipers, young and old, great and humble. That the Delawares produced a religion in the real, almost classical sense, will not, I believe, be strenuously denied even by the proponents of other creeds, at least those of the more liberal type of mind. It might indeed have become a great one of the mediaeval type had it been linked with the destinies of a militant aggressive race, with its native humanitarian ideals, its precepts of altruism and humility, its lyrics, its litanies and mysticism.

But after all, whatever the civilized reader, no doubt himself an adherent to some creed accused of being equally as superstitious if not as picturesque, may call these religions, there they stand as they evolved—lasting symbols of the strange systems of thought that have appeared and almost vanished in the changing pageant of human history.

772 THE DELAWARE COSMOS, THE BEAUTIFUL WHITE PATH.—It is rather
346 difficult to grasp the Delaware scheme of things. The cosmos in terms
778 of the Big House is a dual symbolism; one realm being that of the celestial universe embraced in terms of time and space; the other, the tangible realm of the human in the midst of the concrete. The two are fused in the symbol of the Big House. The term Big House has to the Delaware a symbolical value much deeper than its descriptive one, for we discover that the Big House stands for the universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the center post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth[1] upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings (Pəle", Pukowa'ŋgo, Tu'k"si·t) in their appropriate places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where day begins and at the same time the symbol of the beginning of things; the western door the point of sunset and symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the "Great Spirit, even the Creator" as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved face images, the revereneed məsi'ŋgok, the representations on the center pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power,

[1] Lamha'k·i·ye "earth here below," so the inhabited world is referred to. The Delawares also know this as ketchak·i·ye, "great earth" meaning the main body of the earth.

[P.34, A]

155 Zeisberger.[5] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[6] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
● 114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings.[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

● 114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122.

[P.10,A]

114
174 The possibilities of this 'acculturation theory' seemed so appealing that I sent a letter to Dr. Claude Schaeffer, then of the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg, who was handling the publication of my manuscript, asking him to append my new view of the Minsi problem as a concluding footnote. For some reason which was never explained to me, however, this was not done.

Meanwhile in Rochester, Dr. William A. Ritchie, and in Philadelphia, Dr. Edmund S. Carpenter, were laying plans for a 1947 summer expedition in the upper Delaware area under an Indiana Historical Society grant for the purpose of attacking the Minsi problem as a phase of the wider question of determining the validity of the Walum Olum. The results of this expedition, with which the writer was for a time associated, have been ably and fully set forth by Dr. Ritchie in "The Bell-Philhower Site, Sussex County, New Jersey", Volume III, Number 2, Prehistory Research Series, The Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

The most important part of Ritchie's report bearing upon the present problem is the material contained on pages 194, 195, and 196. Briefly, Ritchie, while including the caution that the "evidence leaves something to be desired", concludes that the original Minsi Culture began as the Castle Creek Focus of the Owasco Aspect and was later modified by Unami and later still by Iroquoian elements.

121 In the light of the developments outlined in the foregoing, it is now possible to approach a description of the elements of Minsi material culture. It is obviously of value and interest to the numerous amateur and occasional professional archaeologists who do field work in the Minsi area to have at least a tentative idea of which artifacts can be assigned to the Minsi hori-

[P. 11, A]

An excellent description

172 of Owasco ceramics is contained in Ritchie's
323 "Pre-Iroquoian Occupations of New York
415 State". A reading of this should precede
[114] any serious approach to the study of what we presently believe to be Minsi pottery.

The bodies of Minsi vessels ordinarily are corded in some fashion. Ritchie assigns the greatest frequency to a finely corded body treatment with smoothed-over cord second, smooth third, and coarsely corded fourth. It is to be noted that other body techniques occur on occasion such as corded stick imprinted and brushed-over cord.

Miniature vessels occur in this culture. The writer has never seen any from the Milford area which were not crude, including one, partially complete, excavated by him from the Bell-Philhower Site late in 1947. (Plate 3).

It may be remarked in connection with this all too brief description of 'Minsi' pottery vessels that one of the stumbling blocks in the path of a final and conclusive acceptance of the Owasco-cum-Iroquois explanation of the ultimate Minsi Culture is the fact that to the best of my knowledge no sherd or vessel has yet been found on a presumed Minsi site embodying an undeniable combination of pronounced Owasco and Iroquoian decorative techniques. This statement is made with full awareness, however, that the so-called Castle Creek Epigonus pottery may represent a combination of decorative motifs.

Pottery Effigies

172 In the light of the finding by the writer
323 of the pottery effigy of an animal head on
532 the Bell site in 1949, there can be little doubt that objects of this type must be included in the material culture of the Minsi.

The object in question (Plate 4, Nos. 1 and 2) is complete with the exception of the ears and a small part of the lower por-

15:Morgan I-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p 49]
[pp 29-48 not processed]

PART IV

• 114

Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase.

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[527]
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